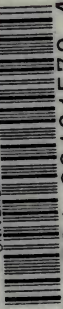


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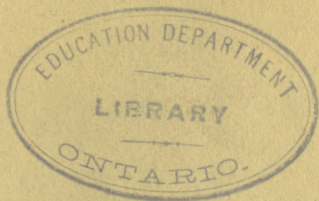
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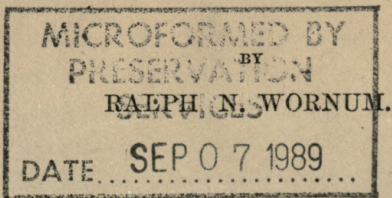
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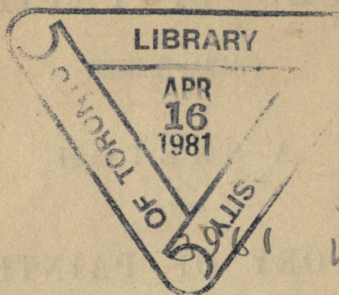
ITS GRADUAL AND VARIOUS DEVELOPMENT FROM THE  
EARLIEST AGES TO THE PRESENT TIME.



LONDON:

C. COX, 12, KING WILLIAM STREET, STRAND.

1847.



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## N O T I C E.

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THE present sketch has already been published in another form in 'The Pictorial Gallery of Arts;' but its separate publication as a compendious manual of the History of Painting was contemplated from its commencement. It is necessarily brief on many points and doubtless incomplete, as it comprehends a review of the progress of Painting in every country where the Art has attained a cognizable degree of development, extending over a period of nearly three thousand years, and comprising notices more or less characteristic according to their respective positions, of all the most eminent painters, from the earliest ages to the present time.

The object of the sketch is to give a general view of the History of Painting as concisely as possible; it is neither intended nor adapted for special reference, as no portion is independent of that

which precedes it. For special information on the subject, local and personal, the reader is in all cases referred to the original sources, and the notes thus constitute a compendious bibliography of Painting, which it is hoped will enable the reader to follow up any particular portion of the subject at his pleasure.



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# A SKETCH

OF

## THE HISTORY OF PAINTING.

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### BOOK I.

ANCIENT PAINTING; ITS COMMENCEMENT  
PROGRESS, AND DECLINE.

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### CHAPTER I.

#### INTRODUCTION.

THAT the degree of excellence in the fine arts attainable by any nation is limited according to the nature of its climate, was a favourite theme with a few writers in the latter part of the last century. That any considerable excess of either heat or cold may materially influence the human mind and character as well as body is sufficiently evident; but that the differences of climate in the various regions of the temperate zone can have any important influence in regulating the greater or less degree of

the intellectual faculty of man, is a theory which appears to be contrary to the evidence of experience; and in the case of the fine arts, is sufficiently contradicted by the present high state of excellence of many branches of art in nations of Europe where formerly the arts of Painting and Sculpture scarcely existed, and of which the climates vary considerably from those of Greece and Italy. If a particular and warm climate were requisite towards the development of a natural taste and ability for art, then every nation within the Grecian latitudes might, according to the similarity of climate, expect to possess artists more or less Grecian in quality and degree. An opposite conclusion would be equally justifiable by the present state of art in Europe, and a warm climate might be said to be prejudicial to the development of art. The arts have scarcely a home in Greece at present; and they are in a very languid state and of a low degree in other southern countries of Europe when compared with the high character of the modern German schools, or with their state in other northern parts, not even excepting the ice-girt capital of Russia.

If the genius of painting appear to be fickle because she has hitherto abided not long with the same people, climate is certainly not one of the causes of her apparent love of change. It has been often asserted that the arts cannot remain

stationary. Every school has had its rise and fall, and with few nations have three centuries passed without very great changes having taken place in the state of the arts among them: Egypt appears to present an exception from this rule, but the arts never attained to maturity in Egypt. Painting never even acquired that development which was reached by its sculpture, and both arts have been wholly abandoned there since the establishment of Christianity. In Egypt and Greece, and throughout a great part of Asia, the Mohammedan religion rendered a resuscitation of the arts in the middle ages impossible; and at all times religion and government have been the most influential causes of the rise or decline of art.

The arts of India, Egypt, Greece, Rome, Italy, and Spain, were controlled by, or dependent upon, their respective religions; they flourished more or less according to the liberty allowed the artist, and the state of respect in which he was held by his fellow men. In no other country was the artist so much respected personally as in Greece, and in no other country have the arts ever attained to such perfection as in Greece. The remains of imitative art amongst almost all Asiatic people, but particularly the Indians and Persians, are chiefly sculptural or toreutic.<sup>a</sup> The remains of painting

<sup>a</sup> Toreutic (*ἡ τορευτική*) in its widest sense signifies purely formative art in any style and in any material, modelled,

in Asia and in Egypt are comparatively few, and it was probably practised to a much less extent than sculpture, though from its more perishable nature there would naturally be fewer monuments of it than of toreutic art, of which many specimens have been found and still exist not only in Egypt, but in Persia, India, and other Asiatic countries, and they possess many excellent points of design. The sculptures of Persepolis, Nakshi Roustam, Nakshi Rajab, and Shiraz, so long undervalued, were shown by the excellent drawings of Sir R. Ker Porter to possess merits unknown to the ponderous works of Egypt, and to be little inferior to the best sculptures found in Asia Minor.

A great development of formative art is not to be expected among the Asiatics or the Egyptians when we consider the hierarchical vassalage of art, and the never-ceasing censorship of a jealous priesthood, which invariably prescribed the rules by which artists worked. There was apparently no dramatic or formative art for its own sake among the Egyptians or the Asiatics not originally Greek; all Oriental remains of art are monumental, and of a symbolic and superstitious character, or mere hieroglyphics. The technical characteristics of these remains are detail of execution, uniformity of design, symmetrical composition, positive or carved, or cast; but the term is sometimes restricted to metallic carvings or castings in basso-relievo.



brilliant colour in painting; and in sculpture, especially among the Egyptians, colossal form. The execution of Egyptian sculpture is generally superior to that of Indian: the sculptures of Persepolis are well proportioned, and the heads are executed with much characteristic detail; the physiognomy is Jewish; the animals also are expressed with great power, particularly in the combats of the Pontiff King with various monsters.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>b</sup> Sir R. Ker Porter's 'Travels in Georgia, Persia,' &c.

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## CHAPTER II.

## EGYPT: HISTORICAL SUMMARY.

EGYPTIAN painting cannot be reviewed separately from Egyptian sculpture, and its history belongs rather to the history of science and archæology than to that of imitative art; for the art of Egypt, purely symbolic in its principle and historic in its practice, was the mere tool of a hierarchy, and its artists the slaves of superstition. All Egyptian pictures appear to be simple records, social, superstitious, or political, and Egyptian painting was accordingly more a symbolic writing than a liberal art—in a word, a coloured hieroglyph. It is, however, owing to this centralization and unity of purpose that Egyptian art has acquired its almost perennial durability, and that imposing grandeur of its works now so impressive upon the modern traveller along the banks of the Nile.

The Eternal Pyramids,  
 Memphis and Thebes, and whatsoe'er of strange,  
 Sculptured on alabaster obelisk,  
 Or jasper tomb, or mutilated Sphinx,  
 Dark Ethiopia on her desert hills  
 Conceals.<sup>a</sup>

The history of art in Egypt may be divided into

<sup>a</sup> Shelley, 'Spirit of Solitude.'

two periods, each subject to various changes and revolutions. What took place during the reign of the Hyksos, or Shepherd Kings, and before and during the period of the Israelite captivity, and the immediate generations preceding the eighteenth dynasty, or that of Rhamses the Great, or Sesostris, who lived about fourteen centuries before the Christian æra, may be considered the *incunabula* or first beginnings of Egyptian art, of which we know nothing beyond what is said by Moses in the Book of Genesis and in the account of the Exodus.

From this time then, about 1400 B.C., until the short reign of Psammetichus, the son of Amasis, about 525 B.C., when the Egyptians were subdued by the Persians under Cambyses, and Egypt became a Persian province, may be considered the first period, the period of Rhamses, or the Sesostrid period. This is the great æra of Egyptian art, and the establishment of the dynasty of Sesostris constitutes its chief subject. Two epochs of this period are divided by the Ethiopian invasion of Sabacos, about 800 B.C., when a period of anarchy ensued which continued until order was restored by the twelve kings and by Psammetichus, about a century afterwards. The second period embraces the styles of Egyptian art under foreign influence, and brings us down to the latest times of the Roman Empire. The first epoch of this period

was that of the Ptolemies, from 332 B.C. until the death of Marcus Antoninus in 30 B.C.; the second was that of the Roman Emperors after the conquest; from the death of Marcus Antoninus and the establishment of the Roman Empire under Augustus until the invasion of the Arabs 638 A.D.

In the latter period the arts were still active in Egypt, especially in the reign of Hadrian, but they had lost their Egyptian character, and, like most other arts in Asia and Africa, after the division of the Roman Empire into East and West, chiefly through the establishment of Christianity, rapidly declined, and were finally obliterated through the hordes of Arabs who eventually possessed themselves of the southern portions of the Eastern empire. The Arabic occupation was more fatal to Egypt than any of the preceding invasions.

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## CHAPTER III.

## EGYPTIAN PAINTING.

PLINY<sup>a</sup> tells us that, according to their own account, the Egyptians had been masters of painting full six thousand years before it passed from them to the Greeks, "a vain boast, as is evident," says Pliny. The Egyptians were certainly what is termed a "civilized people" at a very early date; the Israelite Exodus took place about 1491 B.C., after a sojourn in Egypt of 430 years; and the journey into Egypt took place long after the visit of Abraham, when Egypt was already a populous and wealthy country—"The riches of the world were poured into the coffers of Pharaoh." Artists of almost every description were among the Jews at the Exodus, and the arts of the Jews were of course the arts of the Egyptians. Moses, however, does not speak of painters.

Plato<sup>b</sup> speaks of an antiquity which renders the six thousand years of Pliny comparatively recent. In alluding to the works of art which were executed in his own time, he compares them with works which, he says, according to the traditions of the priests, were of a date ten thousand years anterior,

<sup>a</sup> 'Hist Nat.' xxxv. 5—15.

<sup>b</sup> 'De Leg.' ii. p. 656

yet he did not discover the slightest difference of style between them. But the reason of this similarity, even supposing them to have been executed at periods remote from each other, he has himself explained. He states that painters and sculptors were forbidden to introduce any change or innovation whatever into the practice of their respective arts, or in any way to add to them. Thus, through an established style of art *in perpetuum*, the practice of the Egyptian artists was uniform from generation to generation, and perpetually the same, according to the rules prescribed. We learn also from Synesius,<sup>c</sup> that it was considered a necessary system, that painting and sculpture should not be practised by illiterate people, lest they should attempt anything contrary to the established order of sacred things; among which the representations of the gods were certainly of the first importance.

This similarity is also partly explained by Diodorus,<sup>d</sup> who informs us that the Egyptians did not judge of the proportions of a statue by the eye alone, as he says the Greeks did, but that they first made a small statue as a model, then divided it into a number of parts, from which, in the same number of parts, and in any given proportion, they executed their large statues. They divided the whole figure into  $21\frac{1}{4}$  parts, in which were comprised all the

<sup>c</sup> 'De Providentia.'

<sup>d</sup> L. i. c. 98.

proportions of the body ; when therefore the size of the statue was agreed upon, the sculptors could work separately, each on his own part or portion of the figure ; and it is surprising, says Diodorus, how well they succeeded in producing pieces that exactly fitted to one another. Such a practice shows a well-established system of conventional proportions. Egyptian painting is undoubtedly an art of great antiquity, and probably as old as any other art practised by the Egyptians, and certainly coeval with their sculpture. The Greeks themselves appear to have considered Egypt as, in a great measure, the parent of civilization. “ The people of this country,” says Herodotus,<sup>e</sup> “ first invented the names of the twelve gods, and from them the Greeks borrowed them. They were the first also who erected altars, shrines, and temples ; and none before them ever engraved the figures of animals on stone.” Lucian also, in his treatise upon the Syrian Goddess, says that it was the generally received opinion that the Egyptians were the first who conceived a notion of the gods, consecrated temples, and instituted assemblies for the purposes of divine worship ; that these temples and sanctuaries were at first without sculptures, but that eventually they set up images of the gods in them ; and the Egyptian worship passed on to the Assyrians. The Egyptian was not originally an animal

<sup>e</sup> L. ii. c. 4.

worship; this practice, says Plutarch,<sup>f</sup> arose from an opinion that it was a greater mark of respect to worship their gods in an animate than in an inanimate form. Porphyrius says they worshipped originally but one god;<sup>g</sup> and Herodotus also shows that they retained the idea of a god, self-existent, and from eternity to eternity. They believed in the immortality of the soul.<sup>h</sup>

In the opinion of Heeren and others, Ethiopia was the parent of Egyptian civilization. And Heeren supposes El Meçaourah, a valley in the desert about nine leagues south of Chendy, where there is a vast collection of ruins, to have been the locality of the ancient Ammonium, the original seat of the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, "whence issued those religious colonies which carried civilization, arts, and religion from Ethiopia as far as the Delta and the Oasis of the Libyan desert:" and it was the source of the "far-famed oracle, which at last found its most hallowed abode in the wide plains of Thebes, and on the sand-girt islands of the Wady Sivah."

There are very few historical facts known con-

<sup>f</sup> 'De Isid. et Osir.'

<sup>g</sup> 'De Abstinencia,' iv. 6.

<sup>h</sup> Herodotus, ii. 123.

<sup>i</sup> 'Ideen,' p. 416. See the 'Egyptian Antiquities,' by Mr. Long, published for the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, which is the best work the English reader can consult for a general knowledge of the history and antiquities of Egypt.



nected with the history of painting in Egypt, but the earliest portrait, and one of the earliest pictures on record, is an Egyptian painting, namely the portrait of Amasis, king of Egypt, mentioned by Herodotus.<sup>k</sup> Amasis, upwards of six centuries B.C., sent a golden image of Minerva and his own painted portrait to the Greeks established at Cyrene. He sent also two wooden images of himself to the Heræum or Temple of Juno at Samos, which were still there in the time of Herodotus. It is quite probable that this was a complete full-face portrait, and painted upon panel. Such portraits have of late years been found in mummy-cases attached to the mummies, and they are most probably the portraits of the persons to whose mummies they have been attached. They are generally nearly full-faces painted on small panels of cedar or sycamore, and, though they express little individuality, are the best specimens of Egyptian painting extant. Some of them may be very ancient, but others belong to a period subsequent to the Greek occupation of Egypt, for such a portrait was found upon a mummy which was opened at Paris in 1836, with a Greek inscription upon it. There is an excellent specimen of this kind of painting in the Egyptian Museum of the Louvre at Paris; there is one also in the British Museum.

Three classes of paintings have been discovered in Egypt, those on the walls, those on the cases and

<sup>k</sup> ii. 82.

cloths of mummies, and those on Papyrus rolls: the first class is the most numerous. The coloured bassi-relievi also, in as far as they are coloured, may be classed among the paintings. All these paintings have a common character, but none can be strictly called imitative, though they are sufficiently so to be intelligible. One striking characteristic is the brightness and purity of their colours; but Egyptian paintings, from what has hitherto been discovered, can scarcely be considered as fine art. In the opinion of Gau<sup>1</sup> those of Ipsambul in Nubia are the best. The paintings of Ipsambul are supposed to be among the most ancient in Egypt, and if they were executed in the Sesostrid period, as is supposed, they must be considerably upwards of 3000 years old; yet the colours still retain their primitive freshness. The paintings still extant on the walls of tombs and temples are very numerous, many of the interiors of these extensive buildings being wholly covered with them. The crypts or subterranean tombs are most numerous along the western bank of the Nile and in the Libyan mountains; the most extensive and important for their decorations, yet discovered, are—the Biban el Molouk, or the tombs of the kings near Thebes; the Osymandeiium or tomb of Osymandyas at Thebes, supposed to be the tomb of Rhamses the Great, or Sesostris; and the grottoes of Eileithuias, or El Cab, and Beni Hassan. The principal subjects of these

<sup>1</sup> 'Nubien.'

decorations are burial ceremonials and various domestic occupations, which, though of a low scale as works of art, are excellent illustrations of the manners and customs of the Egyptians.<sup>m</sup> There are several paintings in the British Museum, which were found in the grottoes of the western hills of Thebes, where the peasants have of late years broken down many pieces of painted stucco and sold them to travellers.<sup>n</sup>

The paintings on the cases and the cloths of mummies are of very inferior interest to those in the tombs and temples, both as works of art and as pictures of manners. The paintings on the papyrus rolls are scarcely more than a coloured hieroglyph, or are little besides the phonetic symbols mixed with demotic or enchorial characters, the common Egyptian writing.

The mummy-cloths are prepared for painting by a covering of white plaster, as indeed are all other materials upon which the Egyptians painted, whether stone, wood, or cloth; and the plaster served in the place of white paint. The following is Belzoni's<sup>o</sup> description of executing and painting the Egyptian bassi-rilievi which he found in the Biban

<sup>m</sup> Many of these sculptures and paintings are engraved in the French work on Egypt published by the Institut du Caire, and in Rosellini's great work, 'Monumenti dell' Egitto e della Nubia.'

<sup>n</sup> 'Egyptian Antiquities,' Soc. Dif. U. K.

<sup>o</sup> P. 238; 'Egyptian Antiquities,' Soc. Dif. U. K., vol. ii., 'Painting.'

el Molouk, or tombs of the kings at Thebes. In this instance the reliefs are cut out of the natural rock in which the excavation was made, and are raised above the surface, instead of being sunk into it, as is generally the case. All the figures and hieroglyphics in this tomb are painted, with the exception of one chamber, which Belzoni has called the outline chamber, from its being unfinished and in a state of preparation only for the sculptor; which is a circumstance of great interest, as it leaves no doubt as to the method in which the Egyptian artists commenced their work. The outlines have been first drawn in red upon the flattened wall, and have been afterwards corrected in black, probably by the master himself. When the sculptor had finished his work, the next process was to lay on a coat of lime-wash, which in these tombs is so clear and beautiful as to surpass the finest white paper. The colouring was then executed by the painter upon this white ground; and when the painting was completed the whole was covered with a coat of varnish.

The process of painting upon the walls where there were no sculptures was the same. The ground or wall was covered with a thin smooth coat of plaster which was white-washed over, and the colours were laid on over this as on the relief. The colours were mixed with glue, and probably sometimes even with wax; there is an example in the British Museum of the colours being mixed with wax in a small funeral group of two figures.

The ordinary colours upon the bassi-rilievi and stuccoes are red, yellow, green, and blue, of which there are two tints; black also was used, but for white, as already mentioned, the ground itself was sufficient. These colours are sometimes modified with chalk, but they are always applied singly and unmixed. Different colours are reserved for different objects: men and women are painted red, the men being browner or redder than the women; some prisoners are painted yellow, as in the case of the captives in the temple of Ipsambul, who have yellow bodies; their beards are black, but this distinction may be intended to mark a people of fairer complexion than the Egyptians, as the Syrians and inhabitants of Asia Minor would necessarily be: black men frequently occur. Animals are generally brown, but cattle are sometimes brown, grey, spotted, and white; birds are generally blue and green, but often vari-coloured; water also is blue, furniture and other articles of use are sometimes painted with a great variety of colours. The Egyptian colours were analyzed by Professor John of Berlin, and the analysis is given in the appendix to Minutoli's Journey to the temple of Jupiter Ammon.<sup>p</sup> The blues appear to be oxides of copper with a small intermixture of iron; none of them contain cobalt. Belzoni, therefore, who supposed the Egyptian blues

<sup>p</sup> 'Reise zum Tempel des Jupiter Ammon,' &c.; and the Egyptian Antiquities' of the Soc. Dif. U K.

to be indigo, appears to be in error. The *reds* are red oxide of iron mixed with lime. The *yellows*, which are sometimes of a pure bright sulphur colour, appear from the chemical analysis to be vegetable colours; the greens are a mixture of this vegetable yellow with copper blue: the vegetable might be the henné plant, which is still used in the East for such purposes. The bluish green which sometimes appears on Egyptian antiquities is a faded blue. The *blacks* might be from wine-lees, burnt pitch, charcoal, or soot.

The Egyptians, besides painting the bas-reliefs, painted also detached statues; the group of the man and woman and child, of sandstone, in the British Museum (No. 31), has been painted. They painted also columns, sarcophagi, and other similar objects in stone. There is a painted stone sarcophagus in the Museum (No. 39), which has been varnished. Some of the Egyptian varnishes were made of glue, others appear to be resinous; a bright varnish of some painted woods, as the outer sarcophagi, analyzed by Professor John, was dissolved in alcohol with a yellow colour, and, by mixing water with it, was precipitated in masses, whence it appears to be a resinous substance, which probably had been dissolved in oil of turpentine. On a sarcophagus belonging to Minutoli the colours were varnished with glue; the layer was so thick as to enable a satisfactory experiment to be made with a small quantity.

When dissolved in warm water, it showed a thready texture, and dried into a horny translucent skin; the solution was immediately decomposed by alcohol, and an infusion of galls. From the very thready nature of the glue, it appears to have been made from very hard hides, such as those of the rhinoceros or hippopotamus.

There are many Egyptian paintings in the Museum, of which the groundwork consists of loam containing chopped straw, several inches thick; the paintings are executed on a layer of fine plaster. These pictures are decaying, though they are now placed under glass, but copies have been made from them. The following are of considerable interest, and sufficiently characteristic of the art among the Egyptians:—1, a picture of various provisions, with fruit and flowers. 2, reapers returning from the field with sheaves of barley, and carrying a young fawn and some rabbits. 3, a picture in three compartments; in one appear to be mowers or reapers in a corn-field; in the others are Egyptian bigæ, or two-horse chariots: the charioteer is standing behind one of them, and restraining the horses; the horses of the other are resting; one is about to eat or drink from a vessel. The charioteer is seated in the chariot, with his back to the horses. 4, a picture in two compartments, which appears to represent an Egyptian social entertainment. 5, a picture in two compartments, of men driving cattle, of various colours,

which, from the very humble attitude of the figure on the upper compartment kissing the foot of another figure, appear to be offerings of some kind; the hieroglyphics probably explain the subjects on which they occur. 6, an artist seated in a beautiful chair, with a chisel and mallet, and brush, apparently engraving; the chair is covered with the spotted skin of an animal. 7, a man and assistants, probably his own family, catching birds in a canoe in the marshes of the Nile; a decoy-bird stands at the head of the canoe, and just above it a cat, also in the service of the fowler, has caught three birds. 8, a plan, rather than a picture, of a garden with a pond; in the pond are birds and fish. 9, figures, with flocks of geese with red legs and beaks, probably a market; geese were a very common article of food in Egypt. 10, a large party, chiefly of ladies, at an entertainment, in two compartments. The chairs are very distinct, and of a beautiful form; in this painting, a table, loaded with eatables of various kinds, is in each compartment of the picture.

In none of the above paintings is there the slightest evidence of perspective. There is, indeed, scarcely a single principle of art illustrated in any Egyptian painting yet discovered, if we except perhaps one or two of the small cedar portraits which have been found in mummy-cases; and in these relief is distinctly expressed by light and shade, which, next to outline, is the most important principle in pictorial



art. Animals and birds are generally perfectly intelligibly represented in Egyptian works, especially in sculpture, in which they have a positive form; but in painting they are always flat. Animals are more easy of representation than the human figure, but this is probably not the reason of their superiority; in painting many varieties of animals, a certain degree of individuality is necessary, to distinguish one species or genus from another. Hasselquist, a Danish naturalist,<sup>9</sup> speaks in high terms of some of the birds upon the great obelisk at Heliopolis. He says, "At Matarie (Heliopolis) is an obelisk, the finest in Egypt. I could not have believed that natural history could be so useful in matters of history as I found it here. An ornithologist can determine at first glance to what genus those birds belong which the ancient Egyptians have sculptured. I recognised the screech-owl (*Strix*), which stood above at the top of the obelisk; a kind of snipe (*Scolopax*); a plover (*Pluvialis*) was the best likeness; a duck (*Anas*); and what I thought most worthy of notice, and than which I recognised none more readily, the stork (*Ardea Ibis alba*), in the very attitude in which he may now be seen in the plains of Egypt, with upraised neck and drooping tail."

In the great work by Rosellini already quoted, in

<sup>9</sup> 'Reise nach Palaestina,' quoted in 'Egypt. Antiq.' Soc. Dif. U. K.



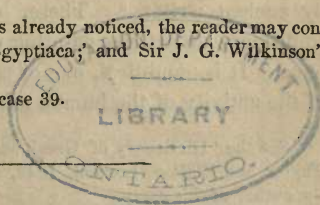
An Artist seated, with chisel and mallet. (British Museum.)

which Egyptian painting is fully illustrated in all its branches, there is a series of the portraits of the kings and rulers of Egypt, plain and coloured, all in profile, and nearly all taken from bassi-rilievi. This series is among the most interesting remains of Egyptian art; and though there is perhaps not one that is quite correctly drawn, several are works of considerable merit and individuality. These portraits go as far back as Amenof, the first king of the eighteenth dynasty (that of Sesostris), and extend to the Ptolemaic dynasty down to Cleopatra, and her and Julius Cæsar's son Cæsarion. Some of the latter portraits are the best, but their eyes and ears are generally out of drawing. In the time of the Ptolemies, works of Greek art were largely imported into Egypt,<sup>r</sup> and influenced greatly the style of Egyptian art of the period.<sup>s</sup> In the British Museum<sup>t</sup> there are specimens of the tools and instruments used by Egyptian painters, as some pallets, remains of colours, and a colour-box, also three brushes made of the fibres of palm-leaves.

<sup>r</sup> See ch. viii.

<sup>s</sup> Besides the works already noticed, the reader may consult—Hamilton's 'Ægyptiaca;' and Sir J. G. Wilkinson's 'Ancient Egyptians.'

<sup>t</sup> Egyptian Room, case 39.



## CHAPTER IV.

## EARLY ART IN GREECE AND ASIA MINOR.

LITTLE has been said on the subject of Egyptian painting, and any extension of remarks on this subject could be little more than the description of the numerous existing paintings of Egypt, but which, as far as the art is concerned, are all described when a few are described. With Greece the case is the reverse: few Greek paintings remain to corroborate ancient criticism, or to show a similar development of painting among the Greeks, as of the sister art of sculpture; while, on the other hand, the works of ancient writers contain abundant historical information on the subject.

The patriotism, or perhaps the egotism, of the Greeks endeavoured to assign to painting, in Greece, a Greek origin; and various anecdotes relating to its accidental discovery or invention are recorded by ancient writers.<sup>a</sup> These, however, are mere traditions; an art like painting was not invented at once. It is, doubtless, one of the natural channels of the activity of the human mind, and after a cer-

<sup>a</sup> See the 'Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, Taylor and Walton, London, 1842, article PAINTING, by the author of this essay.

tain stage of civilization is, to a certain degree, natural to man under all circumstances.

Painting, like many other arts, appears to have been first established in Greece, mainly through communication with Egypt and Asia Minor, and was long sustained only through continued intercourse between Greece and these countries, where it flourished many centuries before the earliest evidence of its existence in Greece itself. The earliest or most remote period of Greek art may be termed the Pelasgic. The Pelasgi, who, according to historians, are the most ancient known inhabitants of Greece, were a migratory and a widely-scattered race, and may easily have become acquainted with the arts of the Egyptians,<sup>a</sup> both by intercourse with them, and by early colonizations from Egypt or from Phœnicia; and the ancient stories of Cecrops, Cadmus, and Danaus, though little, are still some evidence of such colonization. The only remains of this age are the lions of Mycenæ. The Pelasgi of Greece, however, would have a knowledge of the arts in common only with the whole Pelasgic race; and the Siciliots, Italiots, Tyrrhenians, and Ionians of Asia Minor, at first far outstripped the Greeks themselves, or Hellenes, in the practice of the arts, until about the period of the second Messenian war, or the thirtieth Olympiad, nearly seven centuries before the Christian æra, until the time of Cypselus

<sup>a</sup> Herodotus, ii. 52.

of Corinth, and of Psammetichus of Egypt, when a more active æra in every department of knowledge commenced in Greece.

The time of Psammetichus is particularly marked out as a period in which the arts of Greece may have received an impulse from those of Egypt: an active commercial intercourse was then established between the two nations.<sup>b</sup> Pausanias speaks of the original statue of Apollo Lycius at Argos, which was dedicated by Danaus as an Egyptian ξόανον, or wooden image.<sup>c</sup> Sesostris had several monuments erected in Asia Minor and in Syria, in commemoration of his victories. Some of these were extant in the time of Herodotus, and he describes two figures, perhaps of Sesostris, which he saw in Ionia.<sup>d</sup> One was in the way from Ephesus to Phocæa, the other between Sardis and Smyrna; both were about five palms high, with a javelin in their right hands and a bow in the left. The rest of the armour was Egyptian and Ethiopian; across their shoulders was the following inscription in the Egyptian sacred or hieratic characters:—"I conquered this country by the force of my arms." Such instances, however, can have had little effect compared with the consequences of the well-established intercourse between the Greeks and Egyptians, after the time of Psammetichus.

Psammetichus, having about 660 B.C. obtained

<sup>b</sup> Herodotus, ii. 154. <sup>c</sup> Pausanias, ii. 19. <sup>d</sup> ii. 106.

the kingdom of Egypt through the aid of some Ionians and Carians, who, on a voyage of plunder, had been forced by bad weather to land in Egypt, conferred on them certain lands near the Pelusian mouth of the Nile, in gratitude for their services; and gave them some Egyptian children to bring up in a knowledge of the Greek language, who, as well as their descendants, subsequently acted as interpreters between the Greeks and Egyptians. These Greeks were removed afterwards by Amasis to Memphis, but they always kept up a communication with Greece, and the Greeks, says Herodotus,<sup>e</sup> had from this time a perfect knowledge of Egyptian affairs; and the arts of the Egyptians cannot be excepted from this knowledge. Psammetichus maintained the Ionians and Carians as auxiliaries, as did also his successors: in the reign of his grandson Apries, they constituted an army of 30,000 men. They were defeated by the usurper Amasis, who succeeded Apries, at the battle of Momemphis. Amasis was, however, very partial to the Greeks: he did all in his power to encourage commerce with them; he allowed them to establish themselves at Naucratis, on the Canopic branch of the Nile, which became a commercial city of great importance, and was resorted to by traders from all parts of Greece. The portrait of himself, which he sent to the Greeks of Cyrene, has been already

<sup>e</sup> Herodotus, ii. 152—169.

mentioned ; his wife, Ladice, was a native Greek of Cyrene. The arts were particularly active in Egypt in the time of this king ; he built the temple of Isis at Memphis.

Both the plastic and the graphic art continued, doubtless, for many ages in their primitive rude state, without any material improvement in style or distinctive character ; and they only assumed a decidedly Greek or Hellenic character about the time of the great Persian war. We have no historical knowledge of the arts of Greece until about the time of Solon, and after the period when a constant intercourse was established with Egypt and with Asia, through the Ionian Greeks of Asia Minor, among whom the arts were in a high state before they can be positively said to have existed in Greece. Painting was certainly not practised as an independent art in Greece until after the Persian war. Before that period it was purely ornamental or representative, and its application was almost limited to the decoration of sacred edifices, and a few other religious purposes, as colouring or imitating bas-reliefs, and in representations of religious rites on vases or otherwise.

The period from the earliest time until the Persian invasion, or about five centuries before Christ, may be said to constitute the first æra, or the mythic age of Grecian art ; which chiefly through the great mythic poems of Homer and



Hesiod eventually threw off all traces of its original Egyptian parentage, and was gradually prepared for that theocratic, heroic, and historic character which it finally assumed, and which was immediately brought about in its peculiar splendour by the memorable destruction of the invading armies of Persia under Xerxes. The true age of Greek art, as art, must be dated from this event, or at least the period subsequent to it is, as far as our present knowledge reaches, the earliest that can be a satisfactory subject of history. Many isolated facts, however, are recorded of the earlier period, and many traditions and many opinions; but these do not belong to a sketch of the nature of this essay. Ancient opinions are however of themselves facts, and the history of any subject is indeed imperfect when the ideas of early ages regarding it are altogether overlooked, for the impressions and associations made or suggested by any intellectual pursuit, are, as one of its effects, a part of the subject itself.

As has been already observed, painting was in an apparently advanced state in Asia Minor and in Magna Græcia long before it made any progress in Greece itself. But instead of dwelling here upon the gradual development of the art, we may proceed at once to the consideration of the earliest evidences of its development.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>f</sup> The gradual progress of Greek painting, from its essen-

Homer does not mention painting as an imitative art, nor is there in Greek theogony, or hero-worship, any god or hero, or an individual of any kind, who represents the class of painters, similar to Vulcan and Dædalus, representing workers in metal and carvers in wood. Homer speaks only of red-prowed and purple-prowed ships; he speaks however of elegant and elaborate embroidery as something not uncommon, and this is painting in principle, though not actually in practice; it is textile painting, or painting with the needle, and this is what it is termed by the Romans; such expressions are used by Cicero, by Virgil, and by Horace.<sup>g</sup> Homer mentions the splendid diplax of Helen, in which were embroidered the battles of the Greeks and Trojans.<sup>h</sup>

Pliny<sup>i</sup> relates a curious story of a picture which was painted in Lydia in Asia Minor, about 720 years before Christ, and by the earliest painter on record. This was a picture of a battle of the Magnetes, by a painter of the name of Bularchus, probably of Lydia, and about 716 B.C. Candaules, then king of Lydia, paid him for it either its weight in gold or as much gold coin as would cover it.

tial first principles to its development, is traced in the article already alluded to, in the 'Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities.'

<sup>g</sup> Cic. 'Ver.' II. iv. 1; 'Tusc.' v. 21; Ovid. 'Met.' vi. 23; Virg. 'Æn.' ix. 582.

<sup>h</sup> 'Il.' iii. 126.

<sup>i</sup> 'Hist. Nat.' xxxv. 34; vii. 39.

The amount might be the same either way, or the story may not be true; yet there must have been a good foundation for it, and the picture was evidently sold for a high price, which is a sign of considerable refinement of taste already at that remote period. This picture was probably of the school termed by Pliny the 'Genus picturæ Asiaticum,' which appears to have declined after the Persian conquest of Ionia, little more than a century and a half after the time of Bularchus. Driven from the mainland, it found shelter in the islands of the Ægean Sea; and Samos became a famous seat of the arts. Pictures were apparently common in Ionia at this time. Herodotus<sup>k</sup> mentions that when Harpagus besieged the town of Phocæa, 544 B.C., the inhabitants, having collected all their valuables except *paintings* and such works in metal or stone as could not easily be removed, fled with them to the island of Chios. From which it appears that paintings, accounted by the Phocæans among their *valuables*, were both numerous and on a large scale, or their removal would not have been difficult.

At Samos, the Heræum, or temple of Juno, became at a later age a celebrated picture-gallery, *πινακοθήκη*: it is so called by Strabo.<sup>l</sup> In this temple a curious picture was dedicated, about 508 B.C., by Mandrocles, the architect of the bridge of boats which Darius Hystaspes had thrown over the

<sup>k</sup> i. 164.

<sup>l</sup> xiv. p. 637

Bosporus for the passage of his army across, on his expedition against the Scythians. It represented the passage of the army, and Darius on his throne reviewing it as it passed. Two statues of Amasis, king of Egypt, sent by himself to this temple, have been already mentioned; it was in his time apparently a celebrated depository for works of art, and this was nearly six hundred years before the visit of Strabo, when it was still a great gallery of arts; the history of modern art cannot yet afford an approximating example of stability, though possible, in point of time. Pausanias<sup>m</sup> says that this temple was dedicated, according to tradition, by the Argonauts, and notices only the ancient statue of the goddess by Smilis, the contemporary of Dædalus; the temple was therefore in his time probably stripped of the majority of its treasures. All the temples in Greece had their votive offerings, and in later times most of the temples had buildings attached to them, erected expressly for the reception of works of art; consecrated or votive pictures constituted a considerable portion of the votive offerings of the Greeks, whether on panels, tablets, or on the walls themselves.<sup>n</sup> A similar custom prevailed formerly to a great extent in Italy, and still prevails.

The Greeks of Magna Græcia, those of Crotona,

<sup>m</sup> vii. 4.

<sup>n</sup> Pausanias, i. 22; x. 25; Athenæus, xiii. p. 606, b. Strabo, ix. p. 396.

Sybaris and Tarentum, were not behind their contemporaries of Asia Minor in matters of art or learning. Though of painting itself there is little to be said, Aristotle mentions a very remarkable piece of embroidery which belonged to a citizen of Sybaris of this period. He describes a magnificent purple shawl or pallium, probably of Milesian wool, which was made for Alcisthenes, a native of Sybaris. It was embroidered with the representation of cities, of gods, and of men; and from the Greek word *ξώδια* used to signify the representations, it appears that the cities also, as well as the gods and men, were represented in a human form. Above was a representation, probably an allegoric female impersonation, of the city of Susa; below were figures of Persians; in the middle were Jupiter, Juno, Themis, Minerva, Apollo, and Aphrodite or Venus; on one side was an impersonation of Sybaris, on the other the portrait of Alcisthenes himself. This shawl was the wonder of the Italiots; it came subsequently into the possession of the elder Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, about 400 B.C., who sold it to the Carthaginians for the enormous sum of 120 talents, about 29,000*l.* sterling. Alcisthenes lived probably about 520 or 530 B.C.<sup>o</sup>

According to Pliny, painting was established throughout Italy at an early period, as early as

o Aristotle, 'De Mirab. Auscult.' c. 99; Schweighäuser, 'Animadv. in Athen.' vol. xi. p. 477.

Tarquinius Priscus ; he mentions some very ancient paintings at Cære, and a naked group of Helen and Atalante, painted upon the wall of a temple at Lanuvium, and others by the same painter in the temple of Juno at Ardea, on which was an inscription in old Latin characters, recording the name of the painter and the gratitude of Ardea. The forms of these works were particularly praised ; the painter's name is doubtful ; in the common editions of Pliny it is Ludius.<sup>p</sup>

<sup>p</sup> Pliny, 'Hist. Nat.' xxxv. 6. Sillig, partly on the authority of MSS., suggests Cleœtas as the name of this painter—'Catalogus Artificum,' s. v. Ludius.

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## CHAPTER V.

DEVELOPMENT OF PAINTING IN GREECE; ABOUT  
600 B.C.—ESSENTIAL STYLE.

CIMON OF CLEONÆ is the first name of importance we meet with in the history of Greek painting, though there are earlier artists who, according to Greek traditions, performed important services to the art, as Philocles of Egypt; Cleanthes, Ardices, and Cleophantus of Corinth; Telephanes of Sicyon; Hygiemon, Dinias, and Charmadas, famous old monochromists, or painters of pictures in a single colour, such probably as some of the black designs on the vases; and lastly, Eumarus of Athens, who appears to have been the most important of these early painters. He first, says Pliny, distinguished the sexes; giving probably to each its characteristic style of design in the draperies, actions, and complexions of his figures, clearly illustrating the dispositions and attributes of each, exhibiting a more robust and vigorous form in the males. Such distinctions are perfectly compatible with the rudest execution.

Cimon of Cleonæ advanced upon the improvements of Eumarus, and may perhaps be considered the earliest Greek artist worthy of the name of a

painter; he was probably not earlier than Solon, with whom he may have been contemporary, and he lived accordingly about a century before the time of Polygnotus. Pliny supposes that he must have preceded Bularchus, concluding them to have been of a common school, for which there is not the slightest probability. It would also leave Greece for three centuries without a painter of name; on the other hand, in the time of Solon, when there is known to have been a regular intercourse and trade between Greece and the Asiatic colonies, the arts of Greece, and particularly of the eastern coast, could not be otherwise than improved by the connexion. Polygnotus himself, the first great painter who appeared in Greece, came from the island of Thasos.

Cimon of Cleonæ is recorded as the inventor of *foreshortenings*, or the first to make oblique views of the figure, which the Greeks, according to Pliny, termed *Catagrapha*. He also first made muscular articulations, indicated the veins, and gave natural folds to draperies.<sup>a</sup>

This fidelity of imitation was apparently not accomplished in sculpture, according to Pliny, until some time subsequent to Cimon; for he says<sup>b</sup> that Pythagoras of Rhegium, who flourished about Olym. 73 (488 B.C.), was the first who exhibited any such refinement in sculpture. Ælian also bears

<sup>a</sup> Pliny, 'Hist. Nat.' xxxv. 34.

<sup>b</sup> xxxiv. 19.



testimony<sup>c</sup> to the great superiority of Cimon; for he says he was much better paid for his works than any of his predecessors, which implies a great advancement in art. He appears to have emancipated the art in Greece from its archaic rigidity, and his works were probably of a middle degree, between the early style and that of the period of the essential development of painting, between Eumarus of Athens and Polygnotus of Thasos, or possibly even between the Ægina marbles and those of the Parthenon at Athens.

Up to this period, and to the completion of the great works of Polygnotus at Athens and Delphi, when painting attracted the attention of all Greece, the only cities that paid any considerable attention to the arts were Ægina, Sicyon, Corinth, and Athens. Sicyon and Corinth had long been famous for their paintings upon vases and articles of furniture. Athens was a comparatively recent devotee to the arts, and had attained no celebrity whatever in this respect, until the arrival of Polygnotus from Thasos about 463 B.C., when, from that time forth, for about two centuries, she became, through various circumstances, the capital of the arts of Greece, though few of the great painters of Greece were natives of Athens.

The essential development of painting in Greece must be dated from the arrival of POLYGNOTUS OF

<sup>c</sup> 'Var. Hist.' viii. 8.

THASOS, who accompanied Cimon to Athens, probably after his conquest of Thasos, 463 B.C. Previous to this period painting appears not to have been practised independently in Greece, and when not subservient to the mysteries or religious purposes, was still confined to ornamenting furniture and decorating architecture. The position of sculpture was very similar. The school of sculpture established by the Cretans, Dipœnus and Scyllis, at Sicyon, about 580 B. C.,<sup>d</sup> was apparently the first positive commencement of the application of pure formative art, unshackled by tradition and free from conventionalisms, in furtherance of the anthropomorphic system of the Greeks. Before this time, their wooden and other images of the gods were mere representative forms.

With Polygnotus painting was fully developed in all the essential principles of art, though many of the more delicate excellences of execution were doubtless still wanting. The essential style of Polygnotus bore probably the same relation to the refined style of the period of Alexander, as the Florentine school in the time of Michelangelo bore to that of Bologna immediately subsequent to the Carracci. The style of Polygnotus was however sufficiently finished to be fully competent to portraiture, and this is a high test. The first portrait on record, by a known painter, is the portrait of Elpinice, the sister

<sup>d</sup> Pliny, 'Hist. Nat.' xxxvi. 4.

of Cimon, and his own mistress, which Polygnotus painted in the picture of the Rape of Cassandra in the Pœcile, a celebrated colonnade or portico in the Ceramicus at Athens—*ἡ ποικίλη στοὰ*, the variegated gallery, a name which it received on account of its paintings. There can be no question that this was a complete portrait, for Polygnotus was not only one of the most distinguished of the ancient painters in the essentials of form and expression, but in colour also. He was one of the four greatest colourists, according to Lucian.<sup>e</sup> Polygnotus is spoken of in the highest terms by Greek writers, from which Pliny's cursory notice of him<sup>f</sup> is evidently an injustice to him.

There is a memorable passage in the Poetics of Aristotle<sup>g</sup> regarding this painter. He says that imitation must either be superior or inferior, or else equal to its model; and he illustrates the remark by instancing the styles of three painters. Dionysius, he says, paints men as they are, Pauson worse, and Polygnotus better than they are. From which we must infer that, in the opinion of Aristotle, the design of Polygnotus was of an exalted and ideal character; and in design may be included expression, in which, according to the same high authority, Polygnotus was one of the greatest masters. Aristotle<sup>h</sup> speaks of him as an excellent delineator of

<sup>e</sup> Lucian, 'Imag.' 7.

<sup>f</sup> 'Hist. Nat.' xxxv, 35.

<sup>g</sup> 'Poetica,' c. 2.

<sup>h</sup> 'Poetica,' c. 6.

moral character and expression; he terms him the Ethograph, and assigns him in this respect a complete superiority over Zeuxis. Lucian<sup>1</sup> mentions him as one of those painters who best understood the laying on and proper mixing of colours; the others with whom he is classed in this respect are Euphranor, Apelles, and Aëtion. Lucian notices in the same passage the truth, the elegance, and the flowing lightness of the draperies of Polygnotus. The most important of his works are those which were in the *Lesche*, a public hall or portico (such as are called Loggie by the Italians), near the temple of Apollo at Delphi: these pictures were consecrated to Apollo by the Cnidians, and were in honour of Pyrrhus Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, who was killed in the temple by the priest Machæreus during a sacrifice, ostensibly on account of his impiety in calling upon Apollo for vengeance upon his father's murderer, or really because the priest feared that Neoptolemus intended to lay violent hands upon the treasures of the temple.<sup>k</sup>

These pictures, which were on opposite walls of the *Lesche*, on the right and the left on entering, are minutely described by Pausanias.<sup>1</sup> On the right was the destruction of Troy and the preparation for Helen's return to Greece; on the left was

<sup>1</sup> 'Imagines,' c. 7.

<sup>k</sup> Strabo, ix. p. 645, a.; Böttiger, 'Ideen zur Archäologie der Malerei,' p. 301.

<sup>1</sup> x. 25, 31.

the visit of Ulysses to Hades to consult the soul of Tiresias, much the more important, both as a work of art and as an illustration of the philosophy and religion of the Greeks. They were termed the Iliad and the Odyssey of Polygnotus, but Polygnotus had used other sources besides Homer. Their composition was what at present would be considered peculiar, if not barbarous: the various groups were not arranged dramatically, or even according to the rules of perspective, but in separate rows one above another, and of which there were three in each picture. There is, however, nothing in Pausanias's description to lead us to suppose that the separate groups were not judiciously arranged, both as to individual treatment dramatically, and as to general arrangement of the groups according to their subjects. There is evident design in the general arrangement, and great comprehensiveness in the whole; but each group appears to have constituted a distinct picture, and to have had no other connection with its contiguous group than that of similarity of purpose; every one contributing to the completeness of the one great subject of each picture—the destruction of Troy; the preparations for the return; and the region of the Shades or Hades; and all in commemoration of Neoptolemus.<sup>m</sup> For

<sup>m</sup> Two German artists, the brothers Riepenhausen, have attempted to restore these works from the description of Pausanias: 'Peintures de Polygnote à Delphes, dessinées et

these works Polygnotus was granted by the Amphictyonic Council public hospitality throughout Greece; and they still excited the wonder and admiration of Pausanias, although they had been painted as much as six hundred years when he saw them.

The style of Polygnotus may be called the essential style, and it was purely ethic in its object: it can scarcely be termed historical; this requires a certain dramatic development in composition, and local truth and circumstantial detail of execution—these qualities evidently did not exist in the works of Polygnotus, as they are described by Pausanias, for objects and events are rather indicated than represented, and when this indication was intelligible the end was accomplished. This is true chiefly of the accessories: a house or a wall represented a city; a man throwing down the stones of the wall the destruction of the city; a tent an encampment; the taking down a tent, a departure; and a ship a fleet: a few captives represented a conquest, a few warriors an army, and two or three dead bodies with even a single individual still bent on slaughter, a victory.

Such was the character of the destruction of Troy by Polygnotus. The dramatic range of painting was still no greater than that of sculpture, and pro-

*gravées d'après la description de Pausanias.* See also Göthe's 'Polygnot's Gemälde in der Lesche zu Delphi,' among his Essays 'Ueber Kunst.'

bably there was at that time little perceptible difference between a picture and a coloured basso-rilievo, though the picture may have been in design and expression of the utmost excellence. That the works of Polygnotus were distinguished for character and expression is sufficiently testified by the surname of Ethographos (painter of character) given to him by Aristotle.

Polygnotus first raised painting to the dignity of an independent art, and he brought it to that degree that it became the admiration and the wonder of all Greece. "As Homer," says De Pauw, "was the founder of Epic Poetry, so was Polygnotus the founder of Historic Painting." From Polygnotus may be dated the commencement of subjective style in painting; that is its subjective treatment. *Subjective* is here used in contradistinction to *objective*: a work of art may be said to be subjectively treated when it is characterised more by the peculiar æsthetic or idiosyncratic development of the artist himself than by the ordinary condition of the object or objects treated. The art of painting, or of delineating the appearances of bodies, is, *in its form*, purely an art of imitation; and, in the development of its powers, is confined to what is visible.

Nothing can be represented that does not already exist in form, either in whole, or in its component parts; and the invention of the artist consists in the arrangement of these parts, in their apposition,

and in their various combinations. No idea of form can be conceived which has not entered the mind through the senses, which has not therefore pre-existed, and there can accordingly be no essentially original form; all must be arrangement: to *see much* is therefore the basis of the education of the painter. Thus the imitation of forms is the power of painting, and the invention of the painter is the composition of forms. As long as homogeneous objects are combined in one whole, a composition may be termed natural; but where heterogeneous objects are combined together, the composition is evidently unnatural, and whatever value it may possess must be due to convention. So far art may become a creation, and the incorporation of the mind of the artist; but, as addressed to another mind, it can only be understood and appreciated in as far as the minds of the artist and spectator are similarly constituted. Without a reciprocal convention and mutual understanding art sinks into the mere material: it is a poem in a strange language. We are at present speaking only of the *sentiment* of art, without reference to mere illusion or imitation of objects.

A high grade of pictorial effect is however far from being accomplished by the mere combination and apposition of homogeneous parts and objects; it depends upon the composition and juxtaposition of harmonious parts, which constitutes beauty.



Harmony of parts is not less essential to beauty in pictorial art, than it is to true effect in music.

In determining the merits of a work of art perception will often be just where laws are of no avail. Though there are conditional, there are perhaps no positive laws, of criticism in art; every work must be considered with reference to the motive, or end designed to be attained; whether that of mere illusion or imitation, or the excitement of another or several of the sensations of which the mind is susceptible. This brings us to the consideration of two distinct developments of painting—imitation with, and imitation without, an ulterior object—the sensuous and the sentimental, for the purely sensuous is closely allied to the sphere of mere imitation as an end: the sensuous as an *end* is a form of the perfect development of imitation, as a *means* it is the most powerful element of art. A distinction between imitation and the object of imitation is obvious: these two departments as evidently require the exertion of two distinct faculties of the mind—one the perception of visible forms, the other a knowledge of their normal and incidental appearances and the appreciation of their uses. This may be illustrated by the various appearances incident to the various passions; and thus, in the representation of any particular passion or sentiment, a work of art must be imperfect unless its cause and

effect are adequately understood by the artist. These two departments of painting may be respectively termed the imitative-formative and the imaginative; and there is a degree of their combination which, when regulated by a just refinement of feeling, must constitute the perfection of art.

The distance from this supposed degree, which constitutes perfection, qualifies the merits of the artist and determines the class to which he belongs. It may be advanced that, as mind is superior to matter, so a style in which sentiment has an eminent ascendancy must be proportionably superior to one in which the opposite is the case; but this is true only to a very limited extent in an art in which imitation of form is the essential element, and in which mind can only be evinced through forms, otherwise the art is merely representative or illustrative; verging from the sphere of imitation into that of symbol, satire, or caricature. This limitation marks the essential difference between painting and poetry, which on the other hand only suggests images, while painting presents them: the description of consecutive action, through sound, in time, is the power of poetry; the representation of simultaneous action, through form, in space, is the element of painting.

It is only in the approximation to this supposed degree of the combination of the two faculties

of imitation and imagination that the respective powers of artists can be judged. In determining, however, the merits of a painter, it is not only necessary to consider the end to be produced, but also his means of attaining that end; and of these, *example* is of the utmost importance, as all excellence in art is relative to what has been already accomplished.

The services of Polygnotus therefore were of the highest order, and for originality and discernment he has perhaps never been equalled by any artist, ancient or modern, that has since appeared. The times, however, contributed much to develop his powers, as they did also those of Phidias; the eventful period, the heroic achievements of the Greeks, had prepared the public mind for glories of a more exalted nature, and from glorious deeds of arms had directed its ambition towards excellence in the more noble acquirements of the mind. And eventually, the religion, philosophy, poetry, and domestic habits of the Greeks, all combined to carry the liberal arts among them to the highest degree of development and refinement yet attained by the efforts of man.

The most distinguished contemporaries of Polygnotus, but probably some years his juniors, were, Micon of Athens, Panænus of Athens, the nephew of Phidias, and Dionysius of Colophon.

DIONYSIUS OF COLOPHON, from the testimony

of Aristotle already quoted, appears to have been an excellent portrait-painter: "he painted men as they are." We can form a still more accurate idea of his style from a remark of Plutarch,<sup>n</sup> who says that the works of Dionysius wanted neither force nor spirit, but that they were too much laboured. These observations remind very strongly of Holbein in style and execution, though the errors in the drawing of Holbein can scarcely have existed in the works of the Greek contemporary of Phidias. Dionysius was not only a portrait-painter, he executed similar works in small to the great works of Polygnotus. Ælian<sup>o</sup> says that he imitated in every respect, except in size, the art of Polygnotus, which evidently refers to the style of the two painters, not their pictures, as some have supposed: the same might be said of Garofolo with respect to Raphael, without implying that Garofolo copied in small the large works of Raphael.

MICON, the son of Phanochus of Athens, was greatly distinguished for his horses, and he was in other respects one of the most celebrated of the Greek painters. He was one of the painters employed to record the victories of the Athenians in the Pœcile, and in some of the principal temples in Athens. He painted the battle of the Amazons and the Athenians under Theseus in the Pœcile, and in the temple of Theseus, where he painted

<sup>n</sup> 'Timol.' 36.

<sup>o</sup> Ælian, 'Var. Hist.' iv. 3.

also opposite to it the battle of the Centaurs and the Lapithæ, and some other picture on a third wall, which, however, was so much defaced by time when Pausanias saw it, that he could not distinguish the subject of the painting. He painted in the temple of the Dioscuri, where there were also some paintings by Polygnotus, the Return of the Argonauts to Thessaly, with Medea and the daughters of Pelias, in which picture Acastus and his horses are particularly praised by Pausanias.<sup>p</sup> A fault that was found with the horses of Micon by an eminent judge of horses, named Simon, who was the first writer on equitation, speaks rather in favour of the horses of Micon than otherwise, if we may suppose that they had no other fault which so experienced a critic could detect: Micon painted eyelashes to their under eyelids, which horses have not. According to Ælian, this fault was attributed by some to the horses of Apelles.<sup>q</sup> The horses of Micon must have been of at least equal excellence as those of the frieze of the Parthenon, executed under the direction of Phidias, as they were produced at the same time and were distinguished for their excellence.

Micon assisted Panænus in the Battle of Marathon in the Pœcile, and he was fined 30 minæ, or

<sup>p</sup> Pausanias, i. 15. 18; viii. 2.

<sup>q</sup> Pollux, ii. 4; Ælian, 'De Anim.' iv. 50; Böttiger, 'Ideen zur Archäologie der Malerei.'

half a talent, for painting the barbarians larger than the Greeks.<sup>r</sup>

Varro<sup>s</sup> speaks of the style of Micon as crude and unfinished when compared with the works of Apelles and other later artists; but in Varro's time, age must have materially injured the works of Micon; still, refined execution was not likely to have been one of the qualities of Micon's works; such excellence was the characteristic of a later age, as was the case also in the history of modern art. A similar objection to that made by Varro to the works of Micon might be made to many of the great works of Raphael and Michael Angelo when compared with the finished execution of the great scholars of the Carracci. There were, however, many who preferred the characteristic generic works of this earlier period to the more finished productions of later times. Mere refinement of execution will never counterbalance essential excellence of design and composition, as is abundantly testified in the present day by the relative positions of the great painters of Italy. Few conversant in such matters prefer the works of the artists of the seventeenth century to those of the fifteenth and sixteenth, though they are generally infinitely superior to the earlier works in execution. In allusion to this subject, Quintilian<sup>t</sup> says, notwithstanding the simple

<sup>r</sup> Sopater, 'Rhett. Gr.' p. 340, ed. Ald.

<sup>s</sup> 'De Linguâ Latinâ,' viii.      <sup>t</sup> 'Inst. Orator.' xii. 10.

colouring of Polygnotus, which was little more than the mere foundation of what was afterwards accomplished, many preferred his works to those of the greatest painters who succeeded him, but not, as Quintilian thought, without a certain degree of affectation. It is also at the present day considered an affectation by the many to prefer the works of Raphael to those of Domenichino, Guido, or the Carracci, and a host of others that might be mentioned.

PANÆNUS OF ATHENS was another very distinguished painter of this period, though, as the nephew of Phidias,<sup>u</sup> he was probably much younger than Polygnotus or Micon. His principal work was the Battle of Marathon in the Pœcile, in which, as remarked above, he was assisted by Micon. This picture appears to have been in several divisions<sup>x</sup>—the positions of the armies before the battle, the incidents of the battle, and, lastly, the flight and destruction of the Persians. It contained iconic portraits of Miltiades, Callimachus, and Cynægirus, generals of the Athenians; and Datis and Artaphernes, the Persian generals. From a remark in the speech of Æschines against Ctesiphon, it would appear that this picture was painted during the lifetime of Miltiades; but this is only possible if we suppose that it was painted upon a panel, or panels, and afterwards fixed up in the Pœcile.

<sup>u</sup> Strabo, viii. p. 354.

<sup>x</sup> Pausanias, i. 15; v. 11; Pliny, 'Hist. Nat.' xxxv. 34.

Æschines says that Miltiades wished to have his name attached to his portrait, which the Athenian people would not permit; but they suffered him to be painted at the head of the troops, leading on the attack. The picture, therefore, if not painted during the lifetime of Miltiades, was, if Æschines speaks the truth, at least determined upon during his lifetime, and consequently immediately after the battle was fought, for Miltiades died in the following year, 489 B.C. The Pœcile was, however, built by Cimon about twenty years after the battle of Marathon, or about 470 B.C., after his victories over the Persians; and the picture was apparently, from the date of other works by Panæus, not painted until upwards of twenty years later still, and accordingly so long after the death of all the generals represented, that their portraits must have been mere iconic figures, the likeness depending more upon their costumes and positions than upon their features, unless we suppose that they were copied from earlier portraits, which is not very probable. The Olympian Jupiter of Phidias, which Panæus was employed to decorate, was not executed until after the eighty-sixth Olympiad, or 436 B.C. The battle of Marathon, therefore, if painted by Panæus, as Pliny and Pau-

‣ Pliny, 'Hist. Nat.' xxxv. 34; xxxiv. 19; compare Heyne, Ueber die Künstlerepochen bey Plinius, 'Antiquarische Aufsätze,' i. p. 165, and Sillig, 'Catalogus Artificum,' v. Phidias.



sianias state, cannot have been painted many years before. The pictures of the Pœcile appear to have been on panel, for they were all removed in the reign of Arcadius, 395-408 A.D.<sup>z</sup>

The decorations of the Olympian Jupiter by Panæus were on the throne and on the wall around the throne of the statue. The subjects of the pictures were—Atlas supporting Heaven and Earth, with Hercules near him, about to relieve him from his burden ; Theseus and Perithous ; figures representing Greece and Salamis, the latter bearing the rostra of a ship in her hands ; the Combat of Hercules with the Nemean Lion ; the Rape of Cassandra by Ajax ; Hippodamia, the daughter of Cœnomaus, with her mother ; Prometheus chained, and Hercules apparently about to destroy the vulture which preyed upon him ; Penthesilea dying, supported by Achilles ; and the Hesperides with the Golden Apples.<sup>a</sup>

Prize contests in painting were established in Greece, already in the time of Panæus, at Corinth, and at Delphi, in one of which, at the Pythian games, Panæus was defeated by a painter of Chalcis, of the name of Timagoras, otherwise unknown, but he must have been an artist of some consequence from this single incident. He celebrated his own victory in verse.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>z</sup> Synesius, 'Ep.' liv. 135.

<sup>a</sup> Strabo, viii. p. 354 ; Pausanias, v. 11 ; Pliny, 'Hist. Nat.' xxxv. 35.

<sup>b</sup> Pliny, *l. c.*

## CHAPTER VI.

PERIOD OF ESTABLISHMENT: ABOUT 400 B.C.—  
DRAMATIC STYLE.

ABOUT a generation or more subsequent to the arrival of Polygnotus at Athens, and shortly after the death of Phidias, dramatic effect was added to the essential style of Polygnotus and his contemporaries. This epoch was brought about chiefly by the efforts of Apollodorus of Athens and Zeuxis of Heraclea (probably of Macedonia), and henceforth we find a unity of sentiment and action, and an imitation of the local and accidental appearances of objects, combined with the historic and generic representation of Polygnotus, which was chiefly characterised by individual representation without any reference to the accidental combination of accessories; and neither the picturesque, nor an indiscriminate picture of nature, appeared to have at all belonged to the art of that period. The most distinguished contemporaries of Apollodorus and Zeuxis, and those who carried out their principles, were Parrhasius of Ephesus, Eupompus of Sicyon, and Timanthes of Cythnos. Athens and Sicyon were the great seats of the arts at this

time. Apollodorus, who, according to Plutarch, was the inventor of tone, or the first great master of light and shade, was born at Athens, probably about 460; he was apparently a few years older than Zeuxis,<sup>b</sup> for he complained that Zeuxis had robbed him of his art.

APOLLODORUS OF ATHENS was the first great master of light and shade. Earlier painters, however, and especially Dionysius of Colophon, had distinguished themselves in this respect, but doubtless in a different and in a less degree than Apollodorus, who was the first to attain a perfect, or rather an approximate imitation of the various effects of light and shade invariably seen in nature, arising from light reflected reciprocally from one contiguous object to another, which always partakes in a slight degree of the colour of the object from which it is reflected. If we may depend upon the criticisms of ancient writers, the works of Apollodorus were not inferior in this respect to the works of the most distinguished masters of modern times. The distinction between this quality of the works of Apollodorus, and the *force and tone* of Dionysius, which Plutarch himself speaks of,<sup>c</sup> is, that what in the works of Dionysius was a mere gradation

<sup>a</sup> 'De Glor. Athen.' 2.

<sup>b</sup> Pliny mentions 400 B.C. as the period of Zeuxis, but this, as will be presently shown, was the close of the career of Zeuxis.

<sup>c</sup> 'Timol.' 36.

of *light and shade*, or a gradual diminution of light, was in those of Apollodorus a gradation also of tints, the colour gradually diminishing and changing with the diminution of light. The former was termed *τόνος*, or tone, among the Greeks, and the latter *ἁρμονγή*, or harmony. The English term *tone*, however, when applied to a coloured picture, comprehends both; it is equivalent to the "splendour" of Pliny. Apollodorus was the first painter whose pictures, says Pliny,<sup>d</sup> riveted the eye; he first proclaimed the pencil's honours, and he was the first who painted men and things as they really appear. From the force and effective character of his light and shade, he received the surname of the *Shadower* (ὁ σκιαγραφος).<sup>e</sup> He may be termed the Greek Rembrandt.

Pliny commences his compendious sketch of the history of Greek painting with Apollodorus, whom he terms the first luminary in art; but he mentions only two of his pictures—a priest in the act of devotion; and Ajax wrecked, which in Pliny's time was at Pergamum. A picture of the Heraclidæ, Alcmena, and the daughter of Hercules, supplicating the Athenians when under fear of Eurystheus, which is commonly attributed to Pamphilus, is said in the scholiast on the 'Plutus' of Aristophanes (v. 385) to have been painted by Apollodorus. This painter was in the habit, says

<sup>d</sup> 'Hist. Nat.' xxxv. 36.

<sup>e</sup> Hesychius.

Plutarch, of writing upon his works, “It is easier to find fault than to imitate”—*μωμῆσεται τις μᾶλλον ἢ μιμῆσεται*. According to Pliny, Zeuxis wrote the line upon one of his works; he did it probably in triumph over Apollodorus, whose fame he materially eclipsed.<sup>f</sup>

ZEUXIS OF HERACLEA, one of the most celebrated painters of antiquity, was born, from his connexion with Archelaus, probably at Heraclea in Macedonia, certainly not later than 450 B.C., and very possibly several years earlier. Harduin and others have assumed Heraclea in Lucania to have been the birth-place of Zeuxis, simply apparently from the story of the virgins of Croton, who stood to him as models for his celebrated picture of Helen. But this town of Heraclea was not founded till after the destruction of Sardis, 433 B.C.,<sup>g</sup> long after the birth of Zeuxis, who was at the height of his reputation during the reign of Archelaus, king of Macedonia, from 413 until 399 B.C.; and he was already so wealthy during the lifetime of this king, that he ceased to sell his pictures, but made presents of them. Archelaus himself was presented with a picture of Pan by Zeuxis. Archelaus had previously employed Zeuxis to decorate the palace at Pella; for which, says Ælian,<sup>h</sup> he was paid 400

<sup>f</sup> Plutarch, ‘De Glor. Athen.’ 2. Pliny, ‘Hist. Nat.’ xxxv. 36.

<sup>g</sup> Diodorus Siculus, xii. 6. Strabo, p. 264.

<sup>h</sup> ‘Var. Hist.’ xiv. 17.

minæ, about 1600*l.* sterling—a small sum for the decoration of a palace, compared with what was afterwards received by the painters of the Alexandrian period, but it was a considerable amount probably at that time.

The characteristics of Zeuxis's style are indicated by several ancient writers: his peculiar excellence seems to have been a grand style of form which was happily combined with a high degree of execution. That he must have excelled in general effect is evident from the complaint of Apollodorus, that he had robbed him of his art; and from what Aristotle says of his inferiority in expression to Polygnotus, form and effect obviously predominated in his works, and it is a powerful and rare combination. Quintilian bears excellent testimony to the high character of his forms; he says Zeuxis followed Homer, who loved powerful forms even in women.<sup>i</sup> Cicero also speaks of the fine forms of Zeuxis.<sup>k</sup> These qualities were well calculated to enable him to excel in painting the naked female form. But Zeuxis added to these qualities a dramatic effect of composition, and he was distinguished also by his original and peculiar choice of subject. Lucian<sup>1</sup> has given us a most interesting account of Zeuxis and of one of his works—a family of Centaurs—of which he saw a copy at Athens; the original was lost at sea

<sup>i</sup> 'Inst. Orator.' xii. 10. 3.

<sup>k</sup> 'Brutus,' 18.

<sup>1</sup> Zeuxis or Antiochus.

on its way to Rome, whither it had been sent by Sulla. Lucian, before describing this picture, makes the following prefatory observations :—He says that Zeuxis seldom or never exerted his powers upon such vulgar or hackneyed subjects as gods, heroes, or battles ; but he always selected something new and unattempted, and when he had chosen his subject he laboured his utmost to render it a masterpiece. He thus describes the picture—“ On a grass-plot of the most glossy verdure lies the Centauress, with the whole equine part of her stretched on the ground, the hind feet extending backwards, while the upper female part is gently raised and reclining on one elbow. But the fore feet are not equally extended, as if she lay on her side ; yet one seems to rest on the knee, having the hoof bent backward, whereas the other is lifted up and pawing the ground, as horses are wont to do when they are going to spring up. Of her two young, one she holds in her arms to give it the breast, the other lies under her sucking like a foal. On an elevation behind her is seen a Centaur, who appears to be her mate, but is only visible to the half of the horse ; he looks down upon her with a complacent smile, holding up in one hand the whelp of a lion, as if jocosely to frighten his little ones with it. . . . In the male Centaur all is fierce and terrific : his shaggy mane-like hair, his rough body, his broad and brawny shoulders, and the countenance, though

smiling, yet wild and savage ; in short, everything bears the character of these compound beings. The Centauress, on the other hand, as far as she is brutal, resembles the finest mare of the Thessalian breed, which is yet untamed, and has never been mounted ; by the other moiety she is a woman of consummate beauty, excepting only in the ears, which have somewhat of the Satyr shape. The blending however of the human and the animal nature is so artificial, and the transition from one to the other so imperceptible, or rather, they so gently lose themselves in one another, that it is impossible to discern where the one ceases and the other begins. Nor in my mind was it less admirable that the newborn young ones, notwithstanding their tender age, have somewhat wild and fierce in their aspect, and that mixture of infantine timidity and curiosity with which they look up at the whelp, while at the same time they continue eagerly sucking, and cling as close as they can to the mother.”<sup>m</sup> Zeuxis exposed this picture to public view before his house ; but finding that the singularity of the subject was the common source of admiration, he ordered it to be removed, at the same time complaining, that provided the people have some novelty, they care little about the art that has produced it. Other celebrated works by Zeuxis were—the Infant Hercules strangling the serpents sent by Juno, in the

<sup>m</sup> Tooke’s Translation.



presence of his mother Alcmena and Amphitryon, which he presented to the Agrigentines; Jupiter in the midst of the assembly of the gods; Penelope bewailing the absence of her husband; Menelaus mourning the fate of Agamemnon; and, above all, the famed Helen of Croton, which was painted from five of the most beautiful virgins of that place,<sup>n</sup> and on which Zeuxis wrote three lines from Homer,<sup>o</sup> thus rendered by Pope—

“No wonder such celestial charms  
For nine long years have set the world in arms!  
What winning graces! what majestic mien!  
She moves a goddess, and she looks a queen.”

*Il.* iii. 156-158.

Zeuxis exhibited this picture before it was placed in its destination, the temple of Juno Lacinia at Croton, and charged a head-money, whence it acquired the nickname of the Prostitute. People flocked from distant parts to see it, and Zeuxis made a great deal of money by the exhibition.<sup>p</sup> It appears to have retained its reputation undiminished in after-times. Stobæus<sup>q</sup> relates that Nicomachus, a celebrated painter of Thebes, observed to one who did not perceive its great attraction—“Take my eyes, and you will see a goddess.”<sup>r</sup>

<sup>n</sup> Cicero, ‘De Invent.’ ii. 1.   <sup>o</sup> Valerius Maximus, iii. 7. 3.

<sup>p</sup> Ælian, ‘Var. Hist.’ iv. 12.

<sup>q</sup> ‘Serm.’ 61. Compare Ælian, ‘Var. Hist.’ xiv. 47.

<sup>r</sup> Ariosto has made admirable use of this story of the virgins of Croton in the description of his heroine, the incom-

There are several stories told about illusive pictures painted by Zeuxis and Parrhasius of Ephesus; and they are so far valuable that they show that illusion was one of the properties of painting among the Greeks,—which is an adequate proof of perfect materials and finished execution. Illusion, however, was a quality which the Greeks estimated at its proper value: there is scarcely a passage in ancient authors out of Pliny which praises mere finish or exactness of imitation. Pliny occasionally speaks with admiration of some piece of elaborate finish, but he was certainly one of the least critical of the ancient writers on art.

Zeuxis seems to have been very proud of his reputation and ostentatious of his wealth, yet not more so than his rivals Apollodorus and Parrhasius. He used to wear a shawl or mantle with his name woven in letters of gold in the border of it. He resided apparently in various places; he must have

parable Olympia, and the following stanza forms an almost indispensable episode to the account of this celebrated picture by Zeuxis:—

“ E se fosse costei stata a Crotona,  
 Quando Zeusi l' imagine far volse,  
 Che por dovea nel tempio di Giunone,  
 E tante belle nude insieme accolse  
 E che per una farne in perfezione,  
 Da chi una parte da chi un'altra tolse,  
 Non avea da torr' altra che costei,  
 Che tutte le bellezze erano in lei.”

*Orlando Furioso*, xi. 71.

lived at Athens, at Pella, at Croton, and at Ephesus. There can be no truth in the story of his dying in a fit of immoderate laughter at the picture of an old woman which he had painted, or it would have been noticed by others besides a very late Latin author.<sup>s</sup> Zeuxis was slow in execution.<sup>t</sup>

It is remarkable that Pausanias does not mention Zeuxis, as he notices most of the other great painters of Greece. The Romans probably had not left a single picture by Zeuxis in Greece at the time of Pausanias; and we may infer that Zeuxis painted easel pictures only or on tabulæ (πίνακες), wooden panels, which, from their perishable nature and facility of removal, are very easily lost. If Zeuxis had painted upon walls, Pausanias would most likely have seen some of his works. Few of the great painters of Greece painted upon walls. Apelles never did, and even the works of Polygnotus, at Delphi, have been supposed to have been painted on panels which were inserted into the wall. The same is supposed of the pictures of the Pœcile at Athens, especially as they were subsequently removed.<sup>u</sup>

<sup>s</sup> Festus, from Verrius, *sub voc.* Pictor.

<sup>t</sup> Plutarch, 'Pericles,' 13.

<sup>u</sup> The question whether the Greeks painted more generally upon walls, or panels of wood, has been discussed at considerable length by two eminent French antiquarians, M. Lestronne and M. R. Rochette: the latter, in his 'Peintures Anciennes,' &c. maintaining that they painted on panels;

PARRHASIUS OF EPHESUS is allowed even to have surpassed Zeuxis. He combined in some of his works the effect of Apollodorus, the design of Zeuxis, and the invention and expression of Polygnotus; his works were remarkable both for their invention and their execution. He so circumscribed all the powers and ends of art, says Quintilian,<sup>x</sup> that he was called the "legislator." He was himself well aware of his ability; he termed himself, on his pictures, the elegant (*ἀβροδίαυτος*), and the prince of painters, declaring also his descent from Apollo. He was, says Pliny, the most insolent and the most arrogant of artists.<sup>y</sup> He placed his own portrait in a temple as the god Mercury, and thus received the adoration of the multitude.<sup>z</sup>

The branch of art in which Parrhasius eminently excelled was a beautiful outline, as well in form as execution, particularly in the extremities. The intermediate parts, says Pliny, when compared with himself, were inferior. By which probably he means, that Parrhasius did not so much excel other painters in the general modelling of the figure, as in the beautiful contour generally, and in the out-

M. Letronne, on the other hand, in his 'Lettres d'un Antiquaire à un Artiste,' maintaining that they painted as frequently upon walls.

<sup>x</sup> 'Inst. Orator.' xii. 10. 3.

<sup>y</sup> Athenæus, xii. p. 543, c.; xv. p. 687, b.; Ælian, 'Var. Hist.' ix. 11; Pliny, 'Hist. Nat.' xxxv. 36.

<sup>z</sup> Themistius, xiv.

lines of the extremities. Pliny and other ancient writers mention several of the works of Parrhasius, which appear to have been in a great variety of styles. Among the most celebrated was his allegorical figure of the Athenian people or Demos, which represented and expressed equally all the good and bad qualities of the Athenians, which he can scarcely have done otherwise than by accessory symbols. He painted also a picture of the feigned insanity of Ulysses, and many single figures of gods and heroes; among which was a Hercules, painted exactly, Parrhasius declared, as the god had repeatedly appeared to him in dreams.<sup>a</sup> Among his most celebrated works were also two pictures of Hoplites, or heavy-armed soldiers, one in action, the other in repose. He painted a Theseus, which Euphranor, comparing with one painted by himself, said appeared to have been fed upon roses, while his own looked as if it had lived upon beef,<sup>b</sup> alluding to the delicacy of the form rather than to the colour. This picture was afterwards in the Capitol at Rome. Parrhasius painted libidinous pieces; the Emperor Tiberius preserved two remarkable pictures of this class by him, in his bed-chamber. One, of Meleager and Atalante, he received by rather a curious bequest: the picture was bequeathed to the Emperor, with the provision that if he should be offended by the indelicacy of the subject, he

<sup>a</sup> Athenæus, xii. p. 543, d.    <sup>b</sup> Plutarch, 'De Glor. Athen.' 2.

should receive in its stead a million sesterces, about 8500*l.* sterling. Tiberius preferred the picture to the money. The second piece was the Archigallus, the chief priest of Cybele; this picture was valued at 60,000 sesterces, or about 500*l.* sterling.<sup>c</sup>

Pliny mentions a prize competition at Samos between Parrhasius and Timanthes of Cythnos, in which Timanthes defeated him. The subject was the contest of Ulysses and Ajax for the armour of Achilles; and Parrhasius, indignant at the decision of the judges, remarked, with perfect satisfaction as to the injustice that had been done him, that the unfortunate son of Telamon was a second time defeated in the same cause by an unworthy rival.<sup>d</sup> The story told by Seneca,<sup>e</sup> of Parrhasius crucifying an old Olynthian captive, in order to paint from him a picture of Prometheus chained, is highly improbable, and is most likely either error or fiction. It appears an inconsistency in point of time: Olynthus was taken by Philip in the second year of the 108th olympiad, or 347 B.C., which is nearly half a century after the latest accounts we have of Parrhasius, who was the contemporary of Zeuxis, and a painter of celebrity already in the lifetime of Socrates, who died 399 B.C.<sup>f</sup> The story occurs nowhere but in the *Controversies* of Seneca. Similar stories are

<sup>c</sup> Suetonius, 'Tiberius,' c. 44; Pliny, 'Hist. Nat.' xxxv. 36.

<sup>d</sup> Athenæus, *l. c.*; Ælian, 'Var. Hist.' ix. 11.

<sup>e</sup> 'Controvers.' 34, or v. 10.

<sup>f</sup> Xenophon, 'Memorabilia,' iii. 10.

told of Giotto and Michelangelo, and they are utterly without foundation.

Seneca and some other ancient writers speak of Parrhasius as an Athenian painter, but in an epigram he wrote upon himself, preserved in Athenæus, he proclaims Ephesus as his birth-place.<sup>g</sup> Plutarch speaks of his being honoured by the Athenians for a picture of Theseus; he was, probably, as Carlo Dati has conjectured, awarded the citizenship of Athens for this picture. It was a common practice among the ancients, as it is at present, to award citizenship as a mark of respect or honour.<sup>h</sup>

TIMANTHES OF CYTHNOS, or Sicyon, was distinguished for originality of invention, and for expression. The particular charm of his invention was, that he left much to be supplied by the spectator's own fancy. Pliny<sup>i</sup> says of him, that though in his works the execution is always excellent, it is invariably surpassed by the conception. As an instance, he mentions a picture of a sleeping Cyclops, which was painted upon a small panel; but Timanthes had ingeniously conveyed an adequate idea of the giant's huge form, by painting a group of little Satyrs measuring his thumb with a thyrsus. There are but four other pictures by Timanthes mentioned by ancient writers, but more has been written, both

<sup>g</sup> Athenæus, xii. p. 543. c.

<sup>h</sup> Plutarch, 'Theseus,' 4; Dati, 'Vite de' Pittori Antichi,' Parrasio.

<sup>i</sup> 'Hist. Nat.' xxxv. 36.

by ancient and modern writers, upon one of these pictures, than perhaps upon any other work of art whatever—namely, the Sacrifice of Iphigenia, by which he obtained the prize in competition with Colotes of Teos. The pivot of criticism in this celebrated picture was the concealment of the face of Agamemnon in his mantle. The following portion of the abundant criticism upon this work may be here repeated: <sup>k</sup>—The ancients have all given the incident their unqualified approbation, but its propriety has been questioned by several modern critics, especially by Falconet and Sir Joshua Reynolds. Fuseli, however, in an elaborate and excellent critique in his first lecture, has probably settled the matter in favour of the painter. The Sacrifice of Iphigenia was given as the subject of a prize picture to the students of the Royal Academy in 1778, and all the candidates imitated the “trick” of Timanthes, as Sir Joshua Reynolds terms it, which was the origin of his criticism upon the subject in his eighth lecture. He says:—“Supposing this method of leaving the expression of grief to the imagination to be, as it was thought to be, the invention of the painter, and that it deserves all the praise that has been given to it, still it is a trick that will serve but once; whoever does it a second time will not only want novelty, but be justly suspected of using artifice to evade difficulties.”

<sup>k</sup> ‘Penny Cyclopædia,’ vol. xxiv. p. 456.



The criticism of Quintilian, Cicero, and others, that the painter, having represented Calchas sorrowful, Ulysses much more so, and having expressed extreme sorrow in the countenance of Menelaus, was in consequence compelled to conceal the face of the father, is not more pertinent than that of the modern critics. "They were not aware," says Fuseli, "that by making Timanthes waste expression on inferior actors at the expense of a principal one, they call him an improvident spendthrift, and not a wise economist." Falconet observes that Timanthes had not even the merit of inventing the incident, but that he copied it from Euripides. Upon this point Fuseli remarks:—"It is observed by an ingenious critic that, in the tragedy of Euripides, the procession is described; and upon Iphigenia's looking back upon her father, he groans and hides his face to conceal his tears; whilst the picture gives the moment that precedes the sacrifice, and the hiding has a different object, and arises from another impression."

"I am not prepared with chronologic proofs to decide whether Euripides or Timanthes, who were contemporaries about the period of the Peloponnesian war, fell first on this expedient; though the silence of Pliny and Quintilian on that head seems to be in favour of the painter, neither of whom could be ignorant of the celebrated drama of Euripides, and would not willingly have suffered the

honour of this masterstroke of an art they were so much better acquainted with than painting, to be transferred to another from its real author, had the poet's claim been prior :” so far Fuseli. As far as regards priority, the “ expedient ” was made use of by Polygnotus long before either Timanthes or Euripides; in the Destruction of Troy, in the Lesche at Delphi, an infant is holding his hands over his eyes, to avoid the horrors of the scene.<sup>1</sup> The shallow remark of Falconet about Timanthes's exposing his own ignorance by concealing Agamemnon's face, is scarcely worthy of an allusion. It may be questioned whether Agamemnon, under such circumstances as he was placed, could have been well or even naturally represented in any other way. Although many things might combine to render his presence at the sacrifice absolutely necessary, still it is not to be supposed that he could calmly stand by and be a eye-witness of his own daughter's immolation. Notwithstanding his firm conviction that his attendance was necessary to sanction the deed, he could not look upon it; it would be unnatural. The concealment of the face of Agamemnon must be looked upon as another instance of the ingenious invention of Timanthes.

Another celebrated picture by Timanthes was the stoning to death of Palamedes, the unfortunate

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, x. 26.

victim of the ignoble revenge of Ulysses, for detecting and proclaiming his feigned insanity—a highly dramatic and pathetic subject, and worthy of the pencil of a great master. The picture is said to have made Alexander shudder, when he saw it at Ephesus.<sup>m</sup> There was a beautiful picture of a hero by him preserved in Pliny's time, in the temple of Peace at Rome. The fifth work by Timanthes is the picture already mentioned of the contest between Ulysses and Ajax for the arms of Achilles, by which he defeated Parrhasius at Samos.

EUPOMPUS OF SICYON, the last very distinguished painter of this period, was the founder of the Sicyonian school of painting, which was afterwards established by Pamphilus, as the most celebrated school in Greece. Eupompus was the most eminent critic of his time, and such was the influence of his style, that he added a third, the Sicyonic, to the only two then recognised distinct styles of painting—the Helladic and the Asiatic, but subsequently to Eupompus distinguished as the Attic and the Ionic; which, with his own style, the Sicyonic, thenceforth constituted the three characteristic styles of Grecian painting.<sup>n</sup>

In this Sicyonic school was accomplished the last of the great steps of Greek art, the last

<sup>m</sup> Photius, 'Myriobiblon,' Cod. 190, vol. i. p. 146, ed. Bekker; Tzetzes, 'Chiliad.' viii. 198; Junius, 'Catalogus Artificum,' v. Timanthes.

<sup>n</sup> Pliny, 'Hist. Nat.' xxxv. 36.

progression ; its influence was equal over painting and sculpture. The predominant characteristic of the new school was individuality ; this is evident from the advice which Eupompus gave to Lysippus. Eupompus, being consulted by the young statuary whom of his predecessors he should imitate, immediately directed his attention to the surrounding crowd, and observed, "Let nature be your model, not an artist."<sup>o</sup> This celebrated maxim, which eventually had so much influence upon the arts of Greece, was the first professed deviation from the principles of the generic style of Polygnotus and Phidias. Only one picture by Eupompus is mentioned by ancient writers—a victor in the gymnastic games holding a palm-twig.<sup>p</sup> Eupompus appears to have been more occupied with the theory of art than its practice.

AGLAOPHON the younger, the son of Aristophon, and the nephew of Polygnotus, likewise attained distinction in this period. He was celebrated for two pictures of Alcibiades. He is enumerated among some of the greatest painters by Cicero, who, in speaking of the general identity of the principles of art, shows that it may be variously developed, and he instances the pictures of Zeuxis, Aglaophon, and Apelles, though all different from each other, as yet all perfect in their several styles.<sup>q</sup>

<sup>o</sup> Pliny, xxxiv. 19.

<sup>p</sup> Pliny, xxv. 36.

<sup>q</sup> Cicero, 'De Orat.' iii. 7.

## CHAPTER VII.

## PERIOD OF REFINEMENT: ABOUT 340 B.C.

Gradual ascendancy of the mere Form of Art. The development of the essential powers of Painting superseded by mere technical excellence as an end.

THE time of Alexander, or the Alexandrian period, has been termed the period of refinement in painting. The characteristic of the painters of this time were more varieties of effect and execution than of any of the essential qualities of art. The differences of the various masters were chiefly in external qualities, and much the same transition from the essential to the sensuous in art took place in the schools of painting in Greece in the time of Alexander, as from existing specimens we know to have transpired with the schools of Italy in the seventeenth century. The principal works of the Florentine and Roman schools during their best period, when compared with the works of the Bolognese, Lombard, and Venetian painters of a subsequent period, show fully the transition spoken of, and, as far as can be judged from Greek and Roman writers, appear to illustrate the respective relative positions of the schools of Greece during the times of Pericles and Alexander. The *Form* became paramount over the *Essence*.

In painting, of which colouring is so essential a

department, the characteristics of the latter period would be doubtless more generally attractive, as more generally appreciable; and we accordingly find this period represented in ancient writers as that of the highest flourish of the art.<sup>a</sup> Yet, as already stated, when we examine the characteristics of its various masters, we find them distinguished only for external qualities, if we except the grace of Apelles, which probably was but a happy combination of them all.

The great painters of this time were Pamphilus of Amphipolis; his pupils, Apelles and Melanthius; Protogenes of Caunus; Nicomachus and Aristides, brothers, of Thebes; Pausias of Sicyon; Nicias of Athens; Euphranor the Isthmian; Athenion of Maronea; and Theon of Samos; all of the greatest fame, and nearly all distinctively characterized, though probably on an equality in the general quality of their design and execution.

Pamphilus and Melanthius were distinguished for their effective composition; Apelles for grace or *beauty*; Protogenes for elaborate execution; Pausias and Nicias excelled in light and shade of various kinds; Euphranor was distinguished for his universal excellence, or what, perhaps, may be termed academic precision; Nicomachus for boldness and rapidity of execution; Aristides for intense expression; Theon of Samos for his prolific fancy or devices; and Athenion of Maronea, forming an

<sup>a</sup> Quintilian, 'Inst. Orator.' xii. 10.

exception to the characteristic development of the period, was, like Euphranor, distinguished for general perfection, combined, however, with austerity of style, especially in colour. Besides these painters, the following also attained distinction :—Philoxenus of Eretria ; Asclepiodorus of Athens ; Echion, Cydias, Philochares, Theomnestus, Pyreicus, and Antiphilus of Naucratis, extending over a period of upwards of a century.

Of some of the above painters sufficient accounts have been handed down to us ; concerning others, much is still matter of mere conjecture.

The celebrated school of PAMPHILUS already mentioned, which was established in the early part of the fourth century before Christ, appears to have effected important results for the arts of Greece.

Through his influence, says Pliny,<sup>b</sup> the noble or free youths of Greece were taught the art of drawing before all others. The school of Pamphilus himself was probably attended only by those who designed to follow the arts as a profession : the course of study in it occupied ten years, and the fee was proportionately high, an Attic talent (at a mean estimate about 220*l.* sterling), Pamphilus took none for less ; that is, every student entered for the whole course of study, whether he actually attended the school for that time or not. Apelles, Pausias, and Melanthius were pupils of Pamphilus ; but Apelles,

<sup>b</sup> 'Hist. Nat.' xxv. 36. Compare Pollux, vii. 128.

according to Plutarch,<sup>c</sup> attended the school more on account of its celebrity than of any instruction that he was in need of; the mere reputation of having studied under Pamphilus appears to have created a *prestige* or prejudice in an artist's favour. The modern history of painting is not without its parallel cases. The course of study in this school comprehended instruction in drawing, arithmetic, geometry, anatomy,<sup>d</sup> and painting in all its branches, —encaustic, &c. Pamphilus was the first painter, says Pliny, who was skilled in all the sciences, particularly arithmetic and geometry, without which he denied that art could be perfected. It is not very evident how these sciences are applied,

<sup>c</sup> 'Aratus,' 12.

<sup>d</sup> The anatomy, probably, was more strictly the physiology of the bones and muscles from the skeleton and the living subject; for the anatomy or dissection of the dead subject, whether practised by the Greeks or not, is of little or no service to the painter or sculptor. The artist studies the forms assumed by the muscles in various action: after death the flesh becomes flaccid and the muscles lose their shape, even that which they had when in repose; and the mere knowledge of the origins and insertions of muscles could avail little towards a comprehension of their various forms on the healthy living subject. A model of the human figure with the superficial muscles exposed, and a good living subject (or model, in academical language), to show the forms and uses of the muscles on, is all that the anatomical demonstrator requires in treating the subject for artists. Among the Greeks, in consequence of their customary athletic games, excellent models must have been numerous and accessible; and to this facility is doubtless owing much of the excellence of the Greek sculpture.



especially to painting, though they are however connected with the elements of proportion and motion. By arithmetic are signified probably the relative proportions of the parts of the human figure ; by geometry, their adjustment through perspective, and the laws of motion so far as they are requisite in properly representing and balancing the figure under any circumstances. Flaxman remarks on this subject—"How geometry and arithmetic were applied to the study of the human figure, Vitruvius informs us from the writings of Greek artists, perhaps from those of Pamphilus himself:"—"A man," says he, "may be so placed, with his arms and legs extended, that his navel being made the centre, a circle can be drawn round touching the extremities of his fingers and toes. In the like manner a man standing upright, with his arms extended, is enclosed in a square, the extreme extent of his arms being equal to his height." Flaxman continues—"It is impossible to see the numerous figures springing, jumping, dancing, and falling, in the Herculaneum paintings on the painted vases, and the antique basso-relievos, without being assured that the painters and sculptors must have employed geometrical figures to determine the degrees of curvature in the body, and angular or rectilinear extent of the limbs, and to fix the centre of gravity."

Pamphilus, like his master Eupompus, painted apparently few pictures : he was probably occupied more with the theory of art than the practice. Four

only of his works are mentioned by ancient writers—the Heraclidæ, noticed by Aristophanes,<sup>e</sup> and the three mentioned by Pliny: <sup>f</sup> the Battle of Phlius and Victory of the Athenians; Ulysses on the Raft; and a relationship, “Cognatio,” perhaps a family portrait. Pamphilus left writings on painting and famous painters, but, like the works of all other ancient artists, they are lost.

NICOMACHUS of Thebes, and his younger brother and pupil ARISTIDES, were likewise two of the most celebrated painters of ancient Greece. The school of Thebes, though not particularly noticed by ancient writers, was probably little inferior to the more celebrated schools. A regulation which was in force at Thebes is particularly worthy of notice, and appears unique of its kind. Ælian<sup>g</sup> says that all painters and sculptors who practised their arts in Thebes, were compelled to execute their own portraits or busts, to the utmost of their ability, as a proof of their proficiency; and that those artists whose works were considered as inferior or unworthy of their profession, should be heavily fined. Such a regulation, if impartially carried out, must have had a very beneficial effect, by intimidating inefficient persons from degrading the public taste by unworthy productions.

Nicomachus, says Pliny,<sup>h</sup> was the most rapid painter of his time; he combined, however, such

<sup>e</sup> ‘Plutus,’ 385.

<sup>f</sup> ‘Hist. Nat.’ xxxv. 36.

<sup>g</sup> ‘Var. Hist.’ iv. 4.

<sup>h</sup> ‘Hist. Nat.’ xxxv. 36.

vigour and power with his rapidity, that Plutarch<sup>i</sup> compared his pictures with the verses of Homer.

And Cicero,<sup>k</sup> in speaking of the crude performances of earlier artists, instances the works of Nicomachus, Apelles, Protogenes, and Echiion, as examples of perfect execution. Nicomachus's great fame, however, appears to have been of a posthumous kind, for Vitruvius<sup>l</sup> enumerates him among those artists who, though of the greatest ability, met with little substantial success in life. Of his numerous scholars, his brother ARISTIDES was the most distinguished; he has the reputation of having been the greatest master of expression among the Greek painters. Pliny mentions a picture at Thebes of the sack of a town by Aristides, which so impressed Alexander the Great when he saw it after the storming of Thebes, that he took it for himself, and ordered it to be sent to Pella. The chief incident of this picture is one that has been closely imitated by Poussin in his Plague of Ashdod in the National Gallery—a wounded mother was lying with her infant near her at the point of death, and the expression of her face was remarkable for the intense agony she felt lest the child should suck blood instead of milk from her breast. Aristides seems to have been much more fortunate than his brother Nicomachus, for he received apparently very high prices for his works, and after his death they rose to

<sup>i</sup> 'Timoleon,' 36.

<sup>k</sup> 'Brutus,' 18.

<sup>l</sup> b. iii. in *proem.*

an enormous value. Mnason, tyrant of Elatea, paid him for a Persian battle, containing a hundred figures, at the rate of ten minæ for each figure or a thousand minæ for the piece, not much short of 4000*l.* sterling. As the picture was a panel or easel piece (*tabula*), the figures were probably of a small size. About two centuries later, or about 146 B. C., when Corinth was destroyed by Mummius, Attalus III., king of Pergamum, gave one hundred talents for a single picture by Aristides; six times the amount paid to Aristides by Mnason of Elatea.<sup>m</sup> The same King Attalus bought from the plunder of Greece, a picture of Dionysus and Ariadne, by Aristides, for nearly six thousand pounds—so great a price that it excited the suspicions of Mummius, and the soldier, imagining that the work possessed some hidden value unknown to him, withheld it from Attalus and sent it to Rome, where it was dedicated in the temple of Ceres. Pliny erroneously supposed that this was the first foreign picture which was publicly exhibited in Rome. The pictures brought by Marcellus from Syracuse, and dedicated in the public buildings of Rome, were placed nearly seventy years (B.C. 214) before the sack of Corinth by Mummius; many other works were also exhibited in Rome before those sent from Greece by Mummius.<sup>n</sup>

<sup>m</sup> Pliny, 'Hist. Nat.' xxxv. 36; vii. 39.

<sup>n</sup> See the author's article, Aristides of Thebes, in the 'Biographical Dictionary' of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

Among the pictures by Aristides at Rome there was one of a tragic poet and a boy, which was destroyed by a picture-restorer to whom the prætor Junius had given it to clean, before the celebration of the Apollinaria. Such incidents as this, of which there are several very similar, show how little change is produced by time in the habits of civilized people. Nearly two thousand years ago there were probably as many destructive picture-cleaners as there are at the present day: not that pictures do not require cleaning, but this necessary process is too often undertaken by incompetent persons.

APELLES, the Coryphæus of painters, whose career appears to have been from about 350 to 310 B.C., was, according to Pliny, a native of Cos, or of Colophon, according to Suidas: the Apelles of Ephesus mentioned by Lucian was apparently another painter of the name, who lived more than a century later, at the court of Ptolemy Philopator, king of Egypt.

Apelles is completely Pliny's hero; yet his great superiority over other painters is asserted, not shown. The *grace* for which his works are said to have been so particularly distinguished, appears to have been an external quality, and to imply almost perfect execution. This is evident from his own pretensions as recorded by Pliny. He claimed for himself the first place in grace or beauty, *χαρις*, *venustas*; he allowed that Protogenes was equal to him in all respects save knowing when to leave off; and he

admitted that he was surpassed by Asclepiodorus in *symmetry* (proportion?). “His great prerogative,” says Fuseli, in his first lecture, “consisted more in the unison than the extent of his powers: he knew better what he could do, what ought to be done, at what point he could arrive, and what lay beyond his reach, than any other artist. Grace of conception and refinement of taste were his elements, and went hand in hand with grace of execution and taste in finish; powerful and seldom possessed singly, irresistible when united.” His most celebrated work was the famous *Venus Anadyomene*, or *Venus rising out of the waters*. It was painted for the people of *Cos*, and was placed in the temple of *Æsculapius* on that island, and remained there until it was removed by *Augustus*, who took it in lieu of one hundred talents tribute, and dedicated it in the temple of *Julius Cæsar the Dictator* at *Rome*. It received some injury on the voyage, and was in such a decayed state in the time of the emperor *Nero*, that he removed it and substituted a copy of it by *Dorotheus* in its place: what then became of it is not known. This was about three centuries and a half after it was painted.

In portrait *Apelles* was unrivalled; his master-piece, according to competent judges, says *Pliny*,<sup>o</sup> was a portrait of *King Antigonus* on horseback. He painted *Alexander* several times; and for one of these portraits, or rather pictures, which was in the temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, *Alexander*

<sup>o</sup> ‘Hist. Nat.’ xxx. 36.

gave him fifty talents of gold (upwards of 50,000*l.* sterling)—so large a sum that it was weighed, not counted, from the royal treasury. Alexander was represented wielding the lightnings of Jupiter, and his hand, says Pliny, quite stood out of the picture. Plutarch complains of the brownness of the complexion; but in a piece where fire was imitated, the tone of the picture would naturally require to be kept much lower and warmer than the light of day, and the complexion of Alexander would necessarily undergo a corresponding change. This effect and its pictorial value were overlooked by Lysippus, who criticised as a sculptor when he observed that a lance would have been much more suitable than lightning in the hand of Alexander. <sup>p</sup>

The limited space of this work will not allow an enumeration of all the works of Apelles, about which many notices are preserved in ancient writers. <sup>q</sup>

The story, however, of the celebrated contest of *lines* between Apelles and Protogenes, as a subject of general inquiry among artists for ages, may be here detailed at length. Apelles paid a visit to Rhodes, to see the works of Protogenes, a celebrated painter of that place, and the following is Pliny's account of the contest between the two painters on

<sup>p</sup> Plutarch, 'Alex.' 4; and 'Is. et Os.' 24.

<sup>q</sup> The 'Supplement to the Penny Cyclopædia,' the 'Cyclopædia' itself, and the 'Biographical Dictionary' of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge contain detailed notices of most of the principal painters of antiquity, by the writer of this essay.

this occasion. Apelles upon his arrival at Rhodes immediately sought out the studio of Protogenes, who happened to be from home, but an old woman was in attendance taking charge of a large panel, which was standing ready prepared upon the easel. When the old woman inquired what name she should give to her master upon his return, Apelles answered by taking a pencil wet with colour, and drawing a *line* (linea) on the panel, saying simply “*His.*” When Protogenes returned, the old woman pointed out what had happened, and the story says that Protogenes, when he saw the panel, cried out instantly, “Apelles has been here, for that is the work of no other hand;” and he took a pencil and with another colour drew upon the same—line or panel, in illâ ipsâ (*linea* or *tabula*?)—a still finer line, and going away, gave orders to the old woman that when Apelles returned she was to show him “*that*” and tell him it was whom he sought. Apelles returned, and blushing to see himself surpassed, drew a third between or upon those two (secuit lineas) in a third colour, and attained the summit of subtilty, leaving no possibility of being surpassed.

When Protogenes returned a second time, he confessed himself vanquished, and immediately sought out Apelles.

This panel, continues Pliny, was handed down a wonder for posterity, and particularly to artists; and, notwithstanding it contained only those three scarcely visible *lines* (tres lineas), still it was the



most noble work in the gallery, although surrounded by the finished paintings of the most renowned masters. It was preserved in the gallery of the Imperial Palace on the Palatine, and was destroyed by the first fire which consumed that palace in the time of Augustus, and was therefore not seen by Pliny, who must consequently have described the picture either from a written account or from some other indirect source; and it is to this circumstance perhaps that much of the obscurity of this subject is owing.

The interpretation of the word *linea* is not the only difficulty; whether as sketch or line, the account is equally obscure. It may be objected that if this panel contained only *three lines* upon its surface, it could scarcely be termed a noble work, much less the most noble work of the Palatine Collection (*omnique opere nobiliorem*), or the wonder of painters. Such a display, however dexterously the lines may be drawn, is not within the province of painting. This is the interpretation, however, which is adopted by several antiquaries of reputation, and of all those who abide by the letter of Pliny: but the bare meaning of the word is all that it has in its favour.

If the text of Pliny will not admit of a deviation from the literal meaning, and allow us to interpret the *lineæ* as three distinct rival sketches, we may still suppose that Apelles made an outline or profile of some part of the human figure according to

the ancient standard of beauty, which was improved upon by Protogenes, whose line was in its turn improved upon by the second effort of Apelles, the unerring line passing both *upon and between* his own original line and the correcting line of Protogenes: thus he intersected the two former lines (*secuit lineas*), all three being easily distinguished, as each was executed in a distinct colour. The fact of these painters using different colours for their different *sketches* favours this interpretation, for unless the lines were intermingled, there would be no occasion for different colours—their respective merits would in the case of distinct sketches be more apparent if all executed in one colour. This appears to be the only probable interpretation of this much-discussed subject.

The *mere line* interpretation, however, is not without its merits: supposing the three lines to have been *one within the other*, and the feat to have been the accomplishment of a subtilty of line; the three colours would be equally necessary, and the third line may be strictly said to have *cut* the other two (*secuit lineas*). The singularity of the contest and the extraordinary nature of the production are by no means diminished, but rather enhanced by this interpretation, for it supposes a much more difficult, though a more manual feat, than that of making the mere profile of a part of the human figure, which can have required no effort from the experienced pencils of such painters as

Apelles and Protogenes. But if they were three simple, nearly invisible lines, one within another, as Pliny appears to affirm, the command of hand required, as well as the excellence of the hair-pencils used to accomplish them, must have been prodigious : and a panel with such lines upon it, and such a history attached to it, may certainly have been a general object of wonder, and especially to painters, independent of its singularity.

The character of Apelles shows itself in a noble light in his conduct towards Protogenes, who was not duly appreciated by the Rhodians. Apelles, finding many of his pictures on his hands, offered to purchase them of him at his own price, but Protogenes named so low a sum that Apelles fixed fifty talents for the purchase of the whole, and allowed it to be reported at Rhodes that he intended to sell them as his own ; this conduct opened the eyes of the Rhodians to the merits of their painter, and they secured the pictures for themselves at the price fixed by Apelles—upwards of 10,000*l*.

Apelles was famed for his industry : he never spent a day without exercising his pencil in some way or other (*nulla dies sine lineâ*). The old proverb also of “ Let the cobbler keep to his last,” originated, it is said, with him : it was a custom with the Greek painters to expose their pictures when finished to the public view, in the front or in the porches of their houses ; and a cobbler found fault with the sandal of one of the figures of Apelles

thus exposed; but perceiving it corrected on the following day, was bold enough to venture his criticism upon the leg also, when Apelles came out and indignantly told him that the 'cobbler should keep to his last,' which from that time became a proverb (*Ne sutor supra crepidam*).

The majority of the works of Apelles seem to have been portraits, or of a portrait character; his subjects seldom contained more than one or two figures. Two pictures only by him are mentioned by ancient writers as compositions of many figures; Diana surrounded by her Nymphs, in which he was allowed to have surpassed the lines of Homer, from which he took the subject; and the pomp or procession of the high priest of Diana at Ephesus. His horses, which he appears to have often introduced into portraits, were very celebrated; ancient writers tell various anecdotes attesting their excellence. Many anecdotes also are related attesting his familiarity with Alexander the Great.

Apelles used to glaze or tone his pictures with a dark transparent varnish, after they were finished: Lucian, as already mentioned, reckons him among the four greatest colourists. He survived Alexander many years, but neither the date nor the circumstances of his death are known. He left writings on the Arts.

PROTOGENES of Caunus, or, according to Suidas, of Xanthus in Lycia, the Rhodian painter already mentioned, was chiefly distinguished for the elabo-

rate finish of his works. Petronius<sup>r</sup> says that he had observed pictures by Protogenes, elaborated to a degree of detail which gave him a kind of horror. His most celebrated picture was Jalysus and his dog, on which he is said to have been occupied for seven years. This is quite probable; but in such case he certainly touched upon the picture only at intervals. Jalysus was the grandson of Phœbus, and apparently the patron and founder of the town of that name on the island of Rhodes. This picture was preserved in a certain part of Rhodes, and was the means of preserving the city, for Demetrius, when he besieged it, 304 B.C., respected that part of the city lest this picture should be destroyed with it.<sup>s</sup> Foam was represented at the mouth of Jalysus's dog, and it was accomplished by Protogenes by throwing his sponge at the dog's head in a fit of ill humour, having tried over and over again in vain to produce the desired effect with his pencils. The same story is told of other animals by other painters.

Protogenes was a famous animal painter: in a picture of a Satyr reposing, with a flute in his hand, he introduced a quail or partridge, so exquisitely painted, that it took the general attention from the

<sup>r</sup> 'Sat.' 83.

<sup>s</sup> This event is somewhat variously related by different writers. Compare Pliny, 'Hist. Nat.' vii. 38, and xxxv. 36; Plutarch, 'Demetrius,' 22; Gellius, xv. 3, and Strabo, xiv. p. 965: see also Carlo Dati, 'Vite de' Pittori Antichi.'

rest of the picture, and he obtained accordingly permission to efface it. Another of his most celebrated pictures, Nausicaa, painted at Athens, was apparently called Hemionis from the mules of her chariot.<sup>†</sup> A composition of the kind was on the chest of Cypselus of Corinth, at Olympia : Nausicaa and her maid were riding on mules to the waterside to wash her clothes. A picture of this subject might very naturally get the name of the Mule picture (‘*Ημιονίς*’), if the animals were painted with extraordinary skill. Another celebrated picture by Protogenes, at Athens, was Paralus. Both the Paralus and the Hemionis (or Ammonias, as some read it) are supposed by several to have been pictures of ships ; painters, however, do not paint miniature ships as accessories to large ones, and such little ships were introduced into the picture of Paralus, not by Protogenes, as Pliny says, to show his own origin, but in allusion to the distinction of Paralus as inventor of war-galleys.<sup>‡</sup> Small ships were likewise introduced into the Nausicaa ; the back ground was probably a view of the sea, and Protogenes had apparently studded it with a few distant vessels. This Paralus was a human figure, and Cicero<sup>x</sup> classes it with the most famous statues and pictures,

<sup>†</sup> Pliny, ‘*Hist. Nat.*’ xxxv. 36, “ubi fecit nobilem Paralum, et Hemionida quam quidam Nausicaam vocant;” with which compare Pausanias, v. 19 ; Homer, ‘*Odyseea*,’ vi. 71 ; and Carlo Dati, ‘*Vite*,’ Protogene.

<sup>‡</sup> Pliny, ‘*Hist. Nat.*’ vii. 56.   <sup>x</sup> Cicero, ‘*in Verr.*’ v. 60.

which he would not have done if it had been the sacred ship *Paralus*. The origin of *Protogenes* alluded to, is, that he was a ship painter until he was fifty years of age: this however is altogether improbable, unless he were merely a ship decorator, and painted easel pictures at the same time. *Protogenes* was in Athens, and during the lifetime of Aristotle, whose mother he painted. Aristotle exhorted him to paint the exploits of Alexander, who must have been then in Asia. The time may have been about 330 or 325 B.C.: and *Protogenes* can certainly not have been a mere ship painter then, but must have already attained distinction, and was therefore, in accordance with this tradition, about sixty years of age. He was, however, still in his prime during the siege of Rhodes, 304 B.C.; he painted at that time one of his best pictures, the reposing Satyr already mentioned, and according to Plutarch he had only just then completed his *Jalysus* after seven years' labour. It is not very probable that he was ninety years old when he painted these pictures, and this tradition, therefore, must be erroneous, and has arisen probably from some misunderstanding of Pliny's.

Pliny mentions that the picture of *Jalysus* was painted over four times; which shows that the manner in which the ancients embodied their colours can have differed little from that adopted by most modern schools of painting. The four times of *Protogenes* were probably the dead colouring, a

first and second painting, and, lastly, glazing with scumbling. The Jalysus was burnt at Rome, in the Temple of Peace, in the fire which consumed that temple.

EUPHRANOR the Isthmian was equally celebrated as painter and as statuary. One of his most celebrated works was a picture of Theseus, which (as already remarked) he boasted was distinguished from that of Parrhasius, in that it appeared to have been fed upon beef, while that of Parrhasius looked as if it had lived upon roses. Euphranor probably alluded to a distinction in style as well as in colour: there was the divine and the human hero; the Theseus of Parrhasius approximated perhaps too much to the divine. We have examples in both styles in the Apollo and Laocoon, or in the Antinous and the (so termed) Discobolus of Naucydes. There are notices of many other works by Euphranor, both in painting and in sculpture: he painted in encaustic. Among his pictures are conspicuous the Feigned Insanity of Ulysses; the Battle of Mantinea, which happened in 362 B.C., painted for the Ceramicus at Athens; and a very celebrated assembly of the gods, of which Eustathius relates the following anecdote:—Whilst the picture was in progress, Euphranor, at a loss for a model for his Jupiter, was wandering about Athens despairing of finding one, when, as he passed the Gymnasium, he happened to hear the following lines of Homer:—



“Kronion spoke, and gave the nod of assent with his dark  
eyebrows,  
And the ambrosial locks of the king were shaken  
On his immortal head,” *Iliad*, i. 539.

and crying out “I have found my model,” he hastened home and produced a corresponding head. Some accounts, however, say that he copied the head of the Olympian Jupiter of Phidias, which indeed well corresponds with the above description from Homer. Valerius Maximus<sup>x</sup> says that Euphranor having exhausted his whole power upon the head of Neptune, was driven of necessity to copy the head of Phidias for his Jupiter. A very similar criticism has been circulated about Leonardo da Vinci’s Last Supper at Milan, and the one may be as unfounded as the other. The same remarks also were made on the Sacrifice of Iphigenia by Timanthes, as has been already recorded. Euphranor left writings on symmetry and on colours.

PAUSIAS of Sicyon painted likewise in encaustic, in which style he appears to have distinguished himself before either Euphranor or Nicias. He was distinguished for a bold and a powerful effect of light and shade, which he enhanced by contrasts and strong foreshortenings. His picture of the Sacrifice of a Bull was one of the most famous paintings of antiquity: he painted a black bull

<sup>x</sup> Valer. Max. viii. 11. 5; Eustathius, ‘ad Il.’ i. 529; Pliny ‘Hist. Nat.’ xxxv. 40.

upon a light ground ; the animal was foreshortened, but to show its size Pausias cast his shadow upon part of the surrounding ground : it was in the hall of Pompey at Rome in Pliny's time. It would have been a subject of the highest gratification to have been enabled to compare this ancient sacrifice with an equally celebrated sacrifice of modern times—Raphael's cartoon of Paul and Barnabas at Lystra, now at Hampton Court. Pausias was a distinguished flower-painter : L. Lucullus bought at Athens a copy of a picture by him of his wife or mistress Glycera wreathing a garland of flowers, for two talents, or about 450*l.* sterling ; an enormous price for a copy of a single figure with a wreath of flowers.

NICIAS of Athens, another great encaustic painter, was likewise celebrated for his chiaroscuro, and for delicacy of execution, especially in pictures of females. His masterpiece was a picture of the Region of the Shades, from the *Odyssey* of Homer, which he declined to sell to Ptolemy I. of Egypt,<sup>y</sup> although he offered him the enormous sum of 60 talents for it, about 14,000*l.* ; he presented it to the city of Athens. He was at this time old, and probably rich. Ptolemy ascended the throne of Egypt 306 B.C., and Nicias nearly half a century before was employed by Praxiteles to paint some of his marble statues. Praxiteles was probably one generation the senior of Nicias, but certainly not

<sup>y</sup> Plutarch, 'Mor. Epicurus,' 11.

more; and Nicias may have been about seventy years of age at the close of the fourth century B.C., or when he refused to sell his "Necromantia Homeri" to Ptolemy, which may have been somewhere about or a little before 300 B.C. Pliny intimates a doubt whether the Nicias of Praxiteles and the celebrated Nicias were the same artist; and Sillig in his 'Catalogus Artificum' has concluded that they cannot be the same. Only one Nicias, however, is known and spoken of by ancient writers; and the only ground for doubting the identity of person here; is Pliny's unsatisfactory method of assigning their dates to artists and their scholars, mentioning a single year or olympiad for each, which, vaguely expressed as it always is, may not give us the exact time of an artist within half a century: he may have lived fifty years before or after the date which Pliny gives, although well known and active in the given year.

Pliny<sup>2</sup> relates that Praxiteles being asked which of his marble statues he preferred, answered—"Those which Nicias had had a hand in," so much did he attribute to his *circumlitio*. This word *circumlitio* has been variously interpreted: Fuseli supposed it signified the outlining of the clay model; but Pliny is speaking of marble statues, and the *circumlitio* must have been some superficial application, and cannot imply a correction of form. The question is also about a process which marble

<sup>2</sup> 'Hist. Nat.' xxxv. 40.

statues have undergone at the hands of a painter, at least Pliny understood it as such. Cicero has "*Persæ mortuos cera circumlitos condunt.*"<sup>a</sup>

There is a very great prejudice against the idea that the Greeks painted their statues; that they did so, however, is an indisputable fact, though it may have been far from a universal practice. The statue painters, *οἱ ἀνδριάντας γραφοντες*, as they are termed by Plato,<sup>b</sup> are more definitely spoken of by Plutarch<sup>c</sup> as *Ἀγαλμάτων ἔγκανσται*—the encaustic painters of statues; and the art itself as *Ἀγαλμάτων ἔγκανσις*. Statues seem to have been sometimes entirely painted, which appears from the following words of Plato: he observes, in speaking of statue painters, as given above:—"It is not by applying a rich or beautiful colour to any particular part, but by giving every part its local colour, that the whole is made beautiful." That it was not, however, a common practice to paint the marble entirely is evident from the conversation between Licinus and Aristratus, in the dialogue of the portraits, or Panthea, in Lucian;<sup>d</sup> from which it is plain that the Venus of Cnidus, by Praxiteles, and other celebrated statues, were not painted, though parts may have been coloured, and the whole body covered with an encaustic varnish. We may infer, therefore, in this case, that the *circumlitio* of Nicias, applied to some of the marble statues of Praxiteles,

<sup>a</sup> 'In Tusc.' i. 45.

<sup>b</sup> 'De Republ.' iv. 420, c.

<sup>c</sup> 'De Glor. Athen.' 6.

<sup>d</sup> 'Imag.' 5-8.

was the ἀγαλμάτων ἐγκαυσις of Plutarch, and that Nicias was accordingly an ἀγαλμάτων ἐγκαυστής, or painter of statues, in his youth. In his *circumlitio* the naked form was occasionally probably merely varnished, the colouring being applied only to the eyes, eyebrows, and lips; to the hair, the draperies, and the various ornaments of dress; and there can be little doubt that marble statues, especially of females, must have had a very beautiful appearance when coloured in this way.<sup>e</sup>

Nicias was, according to Pausanias,<sup>f</sup> the most excellent animal painter of his time. He was honoured with a public funeral, and was buried on the road from Athens to the Academy, the cemetery of all great Athenians. He was a very studious, and appears to have been an absent, man. Ælian<sup>g</sup> says he sometimes forgot to take his meals.

ATHENION of Maronea, who was also an encaustic painter, was compared, and by many preferred, to Nicias; but he died young, or, says Pliny, he would have surpassed all men in painting.<sup>h</sup> He was more austere in his colouring than Nicias, and appears to have attempted a combination of the style of his own age with the generic style of Polygnotus and Phidias. A picture of a groom with a horse, by

<sup>e</sup> The article NICIAS in the Supplement to the 'Penny Cyclopædia' contains an account of all the known works of Nicias.

<sup>f</sup> vii. 22.

<sup>g</sup> 'Var. Hist.' iii. 31.

<sup>h</sup> 'Hist. Nat.' xxxv. 40.

Athenion, is mentioned by Pliny as a very remarkable painting.

ASCLEPIODORUS of Athens is ranked by Plutarch<sup>i</sup> with Euphranor and Nicias, and is mentioned by him as one of those artists who have done honour to their country. He was particularly distinguished for symmetry or proportion; but it is difficult to say what is exactly meant by symmetry in this case. Asclepiodorus painted pictures of the Twelve Gods for Mnason, the tyrant of Elatea, already mentioned, for which he was paid one hundred minæ each, or upwards of a thousand guineas for each figure.<sup>k</sup>

ECHION also is mentioned by Pliny and Cicero as a famous painter; the latter appears to rank him with Polycletus.<sup>l</sup> He was distinguished for a picture of a marriage, of which some have supposed the so-called Aldobrandini marriage to be a copy.

<sup>i</sup> 'De Glor. Athen.' 2.

<sup>k</sup> Pliny, 'Hist. Nat.' xxxv. 36.

<sup>l</sup> Pliny, *l. c.*; Cicero, 'Brutus,' 18; 'Parad.' v. 2.

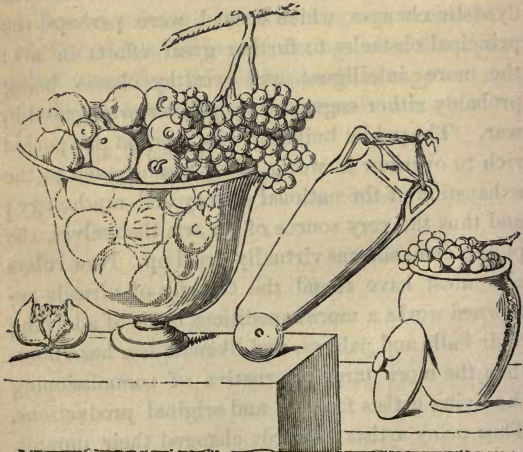
## CHAPTER VIII.

THE DECLINE OF PAINTING: FROM ABOUT 300  
B.C.

PAINTING was said among the Romans to have flourished chiefly during the period of Alexander and his successors; yet during the period of the immediate successors of Alexander a very sensible decay also had taken place in the art. The causes of the decline are evident. The political revolutions with which Greece was convulsed, and the dynastic changes which ensued, were perhaps the principal obstacles to further great efforts in art; the more intelligent and wealthy classes being probably either engrossed by politics or engaged in war. The public buildings also were at this period rich to overflow in works of art, almost even to the exhaustion of the national history and mythology; and thus the very source of the arts themselves, the public demand, was virtually dried up. New rulers also must have found the transfer of already renowned works a more expeditious mode of adorning their halls and palaces, and likewise less hazardous, than the more tardy alternative of commissioning the living artists for new and original productions. Thus many artists probably changed their pursuit, others doubtless had recourse to various expedients

in order to attract attention, which they could only do by novelty or variety. Inferior classes of art became predominant, and even wholly new styles developed themselves, and characterised the period. High art, however, though suborned, was still far from being extinguished for several centuries from this time: there appear to have been some few eminent Greek painters down to the latest times of Grecian history. Among the Romans the higher branches of painting were scarcely cultivated at any time.

Among the characteristic styles of this period were caricatures, pornography, and what the Greeks



From the Paintings on the walls of the Pantheon.



termed rhyparography, which is almost equivalent to the French *Genre*, and expresses well the distinguishing characteristics of the Dutch school of painting. Of this time were Antiphilus of Egypt, who lived at the court of Ptolemy Philopator, and PYREICUS, the most famous of all the Greek *genre* painters: he painted barbers' shops, cobblers' stalls, shell-fish, and eatables of all kinds. ANTIPHILUS was likewise a *genre* painter, but he was also distinguished for pictures in the highest departments of art; he had great facility. As specimens of his *genre* pictures may be mentioned—a boy blowing a fire, with the light reflected upon the objects around; and a room full of dressmakers, &c.

Of the few painters who still maintained the dignity of the dying art, the following may be mentioned: Mydon of Soli; Nealces, Leontiscus, and Timantbes, of Sicyon; Arcesilaus, Erigonus, and Pasius, of uncertain country; and Metrodorus of Athens, equally eminent as painter and philosopher.

The school of Sicyon, to which the majority of the distinguished painters of this period belonged, is particularly noticed by Plutarch,<sup>a</sup> as the only school which still retained any traces of the purity and the greatness of style of the art of the renowned ages. It was already the fashion to speak of the inimitable works of the great masters, yet apparently only as objects to be praised, not to be imitated. Works with great names attached to them then, as

<sup>a</sup> 'Aratus,' 12.

now, realized enormous prices, for many princes vied with each other in the value of their collections. Ptolemy Soter employed agents in Greece to purchase the pictures of celebrated masters, and Plutarch mentions also that Aratus bought old pictures, especially those of Apelles and Melanthius, and sent them as presents to Ptolemy III. of Egypt, to conciliate his favour, and induce him to join the Achæan league.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>b</sup> Plutarch, 'Mor. Epicur.' 11; and 'Aratus,' 12. A more circumstantial account of this period of the history of painting is given in the author's article on Painting already referred to in 'Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities.'

## CHAPTER IX.

## ROMAN PAINTING: FROM ABOUT 146 B.C.

ROME was more distinguished for its collections than for its artists; there was not a single Roman painter of great name, though many Greek artists were assembled at Rome. The destruction of Corinth by Mummius, 146 B.C., was in the first respect a great event for Rome, for from that time forth, for two or three centuries, Rome almost drained the ancient world of its works of art. The Roman conquerors at first plundered with some degree of moderation, as Marcellus at Syracuse and Fabius Maximus at Tarentum, who carried away no more works of art than were necessary to adorn their triumphs or decorate some of the public buildings. The works brought by Marcellus from Syracuse were the first productions of the class, according to Plutarch,<sup>a</sup> which were brought to Rome, and were the promoters of that taste for pictures and statues in their public buildings, which eventually became an absorbing passion with many distinguished Romans. At first, however, Marcellus was accused of having corrupted the public morals by his introduction of such works, since from that

<sup>a</sup> 'Marcellus,' 21, 30.

period, says Plutarch, the people of Rome, it was alleged, wasted much of their time in disputing about arts and artists. Marcellus, however, gloried in the fact, and boasted, even before Greeks, that he was the first to teach the Romans to esteem and to admire the exquisite productions of Greek art.

Rome was, about the end of the republic, full of painters. They were, however, almost exclusively portrait painters and decorators. Marcus Ludius, in the time of Augustus, was a very celebrated decorator of halls and corridors; he painted landscapes, generally enlivened by figures appropriately occupied according to the situation of the picture. There were at this period only two distinguished painters in high art, Timomachus of Byzantium, and Aëteon, of whom Lucian has given an account, and with whom he was contemporary.<sup>b</sup> Julius Cæsar purchased two pictures by Timomachus at an enormous price; but whether Timomachus was living at the time is doubtful. The two pictures were an Ajax, and Medea meditating the destruction of her children.<sup>c</sup>

Julius Cæsar, Agrippa, and Augustus were among the earliest great patrons of artists. Suetonius<sup>d</sup> informs us that Cæsar expended great sums in the purchase of pictures by the old masters.

There are three distinct periods observable in

<sup>b</sup> Lucian, 'Herodotus,' or Aëteon.'

<sup>c</sup> 'Pliny,' 'Hist. Nat.' xxxv. 40; Ovid, 'Trist.' ii. 525.

<sup>d</sup> 'Julius Cæsar,' 47.

the history of painting in Rome. The first or great period of Greco-Roman art may be dated from the conquest of Greece to the time of Augustus, when the artists were chiefly Greeks. The second, from the time of Augustus, until Dioclesian; or from the beginning of the Christian æra to the latter part of the third century, during which time the great majority of Roman works were produced. The third comprehends the state of the arts during the Exarchate; when Rome, in consequence of the foundation of Constantinople, and the changes it involved, suffered similar spoliations to those it had previously inflicted upon Greece. This was the period of the total decay of the imitative arts among the ancients; though the Byzantine school was a Christian development from what remained of the heathen art. As already observed, Roman painting was chiefly characterized by portraiture. It is the earliest age of which we have any notice of portrait painters as a distinct class (*Imaginum Pictores*).

There is probably no use of portraits, of which we do not find mention among the Romans; and they employed them in several ways to which we have no record of similar uses since. It was an early practice among the Greeks and Romans for warriors to have their portraits engraved upon their shields. These shields were dedicated in the public temples, either as trophies or as memorials of the deceased.

Pliny<sup>e</sup> makes some curious observations on portraits. He says that in olden time, that is, compared with his own day, portraits were made to resemble the original as much as possible both in colour and in form; a custom in his time grown quite obsolete. And we have instead, he continues, shields and escutcheons of brass, with portraits inlaid in silver, which have neither life nor individuality. Now all men think more of the material in which their likenesses are made, than of the art, or the resemblance. The effigies they leave behind them are rather images of their wealth, than of their persons. Thus it is that noble arts decay and perish.—With our ancestors it was very different, their halls were not filled with either strange images of brass or of stone, but with the lively portraits of themselves and their forefathers in wax, exact similitudes.

These portraits so pathetically regretted by Pliny were wax busts, and they were preserved in wooden shrines in the most conspicuous parts of the house. The custom therefore so minutely described by Polybius<sup>f</sup> seems to have grown into disuse before Pliny's time. Polybius says—“Upon solemn festivals, these images are uncovered, and adorned with the greatest care. And when any other person of the same family dies, they are carried also in the funeral procession, with a body added to the bust, that the representation may be just, even

<sup>e</sup> ‘Hist. Nat.’ xxxv. 2.

<sup>f</sup> vi. 53.

with regard to size. They are dressed likewise in the habits that belong to the ranks which they severally filled when they were alive. If they were consuls or prætors, in a gown bordered with purple: if censors, in a purple robe: and if they triumphed or obtained any similar honour, in a vest embroidered with gold. Thus apparelled, they are drawn along in chariots preceded by the rods and axes, and other ensigns of their former dignity. And when they arrive at the forum, they are all seated upon chairs of ivory; and there exhibit the noblest object that can be offered to a youthful mind, warmed with the love of virtue and of glory. For who can behold without emotion, the forms of so many illustrious men thus living, as it were, and breathing together in his presence? Or what spectacle can be conceived more great and striking? The person also that is appointed to harangue, when he has exhausted all the praises of the deceased, turns his discourse to the rest, whose images are before him; and, beginning with the most ancient of them, recounts the fortunes and exploits of every one in turn. By this method, which renews continually the remembrance of men celebrated for their virtue, the fame of every great and noble action becomes immortal; and the glory of those, by whose services their country has been benefited, is rendered familiar to the people, and delivered down to future times." (Hampton's Translation.)

They had also the statues and portraits of authors in the public libraries: the portraits of authors were placed over the cases which contained their writings; and below them chairs were placed for the convenience of readers.<sup>g</sup> Suetonius<sup>h</sup> mentions the statues and portraits of authors in libraries on many occasions in the Lives of the Emperors, and notices several edicts respecting the placing of them. Marcus Varro took great delight in portraits, and seems to have invented some method of multiplying them. Pliny's allusion, however, to the fact is so very concise, that it is scarcely safe to venture upon any explanatory conjecture as to the means. He made (*aliquo modo*) and inserted in his writings the portraits of seven hundred distinguished men and dispersed them to all parts of the world: and this he did for the gratification of strangers. Pliny<sup>i</sup> appears here clearly to speak of more than one set of portraits, and they must have been, therefore, either repeatedly copied in sets or printed, and if so, possibly from wooden cuts, though this is scarcely probable, or something of the kind would have been handed down, if not to our own day, at least for a few centuries, so that some traces of such an art would appear in the earliest manuscripts. Portraits were sometimes prefixed to the writings of

<sup>g</sup> Pliny, 'Hist. Nat.' xxxv. 3, 4, 40; Cicero, 'Ad Attic.' iv. 10.

<sup>h</sup> Suetonius, 'Tib.' 70, 26. 'Calig.' 34.

<sup>i</sup> 'Hist. Nat.' xxxv. 2.



authors; Martial<sup>k</sup> mentions one of Virgil, which was prefixed to a manuscript of his works.

Cassiodorus,<sup>l</sup> in alluding to the extraordinary wealth of Rome in respect to its works of art, and bringing it into comparison with the Grecian world and its wonders, seems to be at a loss for an expression, and simply says that Rome was one vast wonder. Notwithstanding all this wealth, however, such was the corrupt state of taste, that painting was almost left to be practised by slaves, and the painter was estimated by the quantity of work that he could do in a day. Juvenal<sup>m</sup> speaks of an artist or a painter as a slave or household domestic:—"Some bow-backed artificer or other, who can paint many faces in a short time."

<sup>k</sup> xiv. 186.

<sup>l</sup> 'Variarum,' iii. 15.

<sup>m</sup> 'Sat.' ix. 145.

## CHAPTER X.

## REMAINS OF ANCIENT PAINTING.



Picture representing a domestic Supper-party.

THE paintings of Pompeii and Herculaneum have incontestably tended rather to lower the reputation of the ancient painters than otherwise, in the estimation of the world generally, though the competent judge will find, upon a judicious examination, the confirmation of ancient criticism in these remains; for they contain many great beauties, especially in

composition, though they are evidently the works of the inferior artists of an inferior age. To judge, however, of the ancient master-pieces of art from such specimens, is tantamount to estimating the great works of modern ages by the ordinary patterns on common crockery and French paperhangings, to which the immense superiority of the designs on the vases and other ancient remains is some index of the excellence of the great works of antiquity so uniformly praised by ancient writers.

These remains of Pompeii and Herculaneum, the style of the paintings of which is condemned in strong terms by Pliny and Vitruvius, nevertheless induced Sir Joshua Reynolds<sup>a</sup> to form a very high opinion of ancient painting. The mosaic of the Casa del Fauno, discovered in 1831, and supposed to represent the battle of Issus or some other of Alexander's battles, is the most valuable discovery that has yet been made respecting the *composition* of the ancient painters: it shows also a thorough understanding of perspective and foreshortening, and is probably the copy of some celebrated picture. The pictures found at Pompeii and other places are painted in common distemper, and in a harder and more durable kind, in water-colours, called by the Italians *a guazzo*; it is a species of distemper, but the vehicle or medium, made of egg, gum, or glue, completely resists water, and the impasto is surprisingly solid. It appears that no veritable fresco

<sup>a</sup> 'Notes to Fresnoy,' 37.



Dancing Fauns.

painting has been yet discovered, though the plain walls in many cases are coloured in fresco. The Greeks painted also with a medium of wax, but so prepared as to enable the colours to be used with

water. In encaustic painting the wax colours were burnt into the ground by means of a hot iron (called cauterium) or pan of hot coals being held near the surface of the picture. The mere process of *burning in* constitutes the whole difference between encaustic and the ordinary method of painting with wax colours. The ancients do not appear to have painted in oil; they painted on wood, clay, plaster, stone, parchment, and canvas. Canvas was, according to one account, not used until the time of Nero; and though this statement appears to be doubtful, the use of canvas was most probably of late introduction, as there is no mention of its having been employed by the Greek painters of the best ages. Nero had his portrait painted on canvas 120 feet high, and Pliny notices it as one of the insanities of his time.

There are various literary works and books of prints, plain and coloured, which illustrate the painting in Rome of the time of the emperors. Many of these works may have been executed at an earlier period, but some were certainly of this time, as those of the Baths of Titus, which contain the beautiful arabesques from which Raphael obtained his ideas for the arabesques of the Vatican. The paintings of the tomb of the Nasoni (the family of Ovid) were likewise of this period.

Of all the ancient works, one of the most beautiful series of paintings is the *Life of Adonis*, discovered

in 1668 in some ruins near the Colosseum, and close to the Baths of Titus. These pictures were engraved by Pietro Santi Bartoli for his well-known work, with text by Bellori, on the paintings of the grottoes of Rome—‘*Le Pitture Antiche delle Grotte di Roma, e del Sepulcro de’ Nasoni,*’ folio, Rome, 1706. The four subjects from the life of Adonis, engraved in plates iii.-vi. of this work, are worthy of any age of art, though they are characterised by great simplicity of composition.

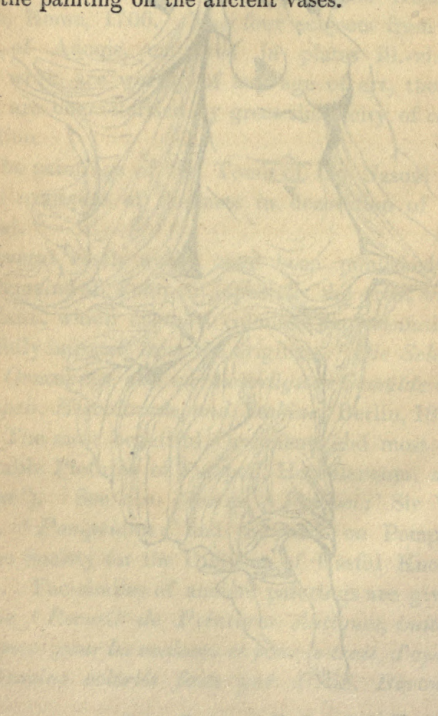
The paintings of the Tomb of the Nasoni are good examples of the taste in decoration of the period.

Several costly works have been published on the remains of Pompeii, especially the great work of Zahn, which contains coloured representations carefully imitated from the originals, ‘*Die Schönsten Ornamente und merkwürdigsten Gemälde aus Pompeii, Herculaneum, und Stabiae,*’ Berlin, 1828, ff. (‘The most beautiful Ornaments and most remarkable Pictures of Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Stabiæ’). See also Mazois, ‘*Pompei;*’ Sir W. Gell, ‘*Pompeiana;*’ and the work on Pompeii of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. Fac-similes of ancient paintings are given in the ‘*Recueil de Peintures Antiques, imitées fidèlement pour les couleurs et pour le trait, d’après les desseins coloriés faits par P. S. Bartoli,*’



Figure from the House of the Female Dancers.

Paris, 1757, folio; also in R. Rochette's '*Peintures Antiques*;' Gerhard's '*Auserlesene Griechische Vasenbilder*,' Berlin, 1839, ff.; and other numerous works on the Greek vases. The British Museum, however, affords abundant examples of the painting on the ancient vases.





## CHAPTER XI.

## THE DESTRUCTIONS.

ANCIENT art, as distinguished by its characteristics, may perhaps be said to have ceased at about the close of the third century of the Christian æra. The establishment of Christianity, the division of the empire, and the incursions of barbarians, were the first great causes of the important revolutions experienced by the imitative arts, and the serious check they received. It seems, however, to have been reserved for the fanatic fury of the earlier Iconoclasts most effectually to destroy all traces of their former excellence.

The foundation of Constantinople and the Exarchate were a great blow to the magnificence of Rome. Byzantium, the Rome of the East, became more rich in works of art than Rome herself: the principal cities of Europe and Asia were despoiled of their treasures to enrich the new city of Constantine: its principal streets were adorned with colossal statues in bronze; and before the church of St. Sophia alone were disposed several hundred statues by ancient masters. Of these many were melted down and plundered for the sake of the metal, others broken up. Immense collections also were

destroyed accidentally by fire ; much likewise was doubtless lost by neglect and indifference, though it appears that in Rome repeated efforts were made by the Popes and others to preserve what remained. In 410 Rome was plundered by Alaric ;<sup>a</sup> and it suffered still greater misfortunes under Genseric, king of the Vandals, in 455, in the pontificate of Leo the Great, “when all that yet remained,” says Gibbon, “of public or private wealth, of sacred or profane treasure, was diligently transported to the vessels of Genseric.” Among the treasures carried by Genseric to Carthage were the spoils brought by Titus from Jerusalem to Rome.<sup>b</sup>

In other parts of the empire religious fanaticism was equally destructive to the cause of art. Theophilus, patriarch of Alexandria, destroyed in 389 the celebrated Serapæum of that place, one of the most renowned temples of the ancient world. The sons of Theodosius, Arcadius and Honorius, 395-408, issued general orders for the destruction of all pagan temples and statues.<sup>c</sup>

The destruction by conflagrations was immense ; many of the finest paintings were destroyed by fire at Rome already in the time of the early emperors ; and much was lost by subsequent fires. At Constantinople, the Lauseion was completely burnt in

<sup>a</sup> Zosimus, v. 41 ; Orosius, vii. 39 ; Gibbon, ‘Decline and Fall,’ c. 31.

<sup>b</sup> Procopius, ‘De Bell. Vandalic.’ i. 5 ; Gibbon, c. 36.

<sup>c</sup> Winckelmann, ‘Werke,’ vol. vi. Notes.

475 A.D.; and in 532 the magnificent baths of Zeuxippus, founded by Severus and adorned by Constantine, suffered a similar fate.<sup>d</sup> In 728 the Iconoclasts (or image-breakers) commenced their systematic destructions, which with slight interruptions endured upwards of a century. Leo III., the Isaurian, commenced this crusade against images; it was pursued with still greater vigour by his successor Constantine V. The Popes of the West, on the contrary, encouraged the use of images; and the contest was carried on with such vigour that it convulsed the whole empire. The party in favour of the use of images eventually triumphed through the influence of the Empress Irene, the widow of the Emperor Leo IV., though the strife still continued, and the Emperor Theophilus (829-842) protected the Iconoclasts. The zeal of the Iconoclasts, however, was not directed against pagan, but Christian images; the images of Christ, of the Virgin, and the saints, as idols. Art can have suffered little by the destruction of such works. In the ninth and tenth centuries, images were again tolerated in the Greek church.

Constantinople was apparently throughout the whole of the middle ages the capital of the arts, and was the source of their revival in the west of Europe. It, however, still suffered further devastations by the Crusaders, especially in the great fires of 1203 and 1204, when it was taken by the Venetians.

<sup>d</sup> Müller, 'Archäologie, &c.

It was this conquest of Constantinople which, by opening an intercourse with the Venetians, gave the first great impulse towards the revival of the arts in the West. Greek artists were brought to Italy for the embellishment of Italian temples; and from this school in Venice and Pisa the great modern schools of Italy derived, if not their beginning, at least that vitality which led to their more positive and immediate development.

## BOOK II.

PAINTING DURING THE MIDDLE AGES :  
BYZANTINE ART.

## CHAPTER XII.

EARLY CHRISTIAN PAINTING : FROM ABOUT  
300 A. D.

BEFORE entering upon a consideration of what is termed the Renaissance, a retrospective view is necessary. The early Christians had a decided aversion to all works of imitative art, as essentially conducive to idolatry, thus evidently overlooking the art itself, and supposing a necessary ultimate object independent of it. It was not for several centuries after the placing of images was tolerated and encouraged by the Roman church that this aversion can have been overcome; and doubtless the very unnatural and purely representative style of design of the early ages of Christian art is due to it, resolving itself into a kind of superstitious awe and dread of approximating the forms and appearance of the idols of the Pagans. In early times the *image* was not

worshipped, but *what it represented*, so that an intelligible impersonation was fully adequate to the desired end. It is quite evident that no early work of Christian art was produced as art, but as a symbolical inculcation of certain religious principles. The ancient schools of art were sensuous ; a principal object was to convey pleasure and produce effect by fine forms and beautiful colours. Such ends probably never entered the minds of the early Christian artists ; and the suggestion of such an innovation would have appeared probably sacrilegious, or not less heretical than a suggestion to change the forms of prayers. The image would have immediately become a Pagan image. Similar restrictions, though from a different cause, were imposed on Egyptian artists, down to the Greek conquest. There is this, however, to be observed, that Paganism seems to have consisted in the *form*, not in the colour, of an image. The above motives cannot be asserted with certainty, but they may be inferred ; for the early Christians commenced their works of art at a time when fine works of antiquity must have been common in every city, and almost in every street. Imitation is not difficult, and man is naturally prone to imitate ; the absence, therefore, of this imitation, for it scarcely exists in the most remote degree, supposes the presence of some animosity or active predisposition prohibiting it. The typical style therefore, first adopted from religious prejudice, became sanctioned by use, and in time became

sacred, at least from long habit, if not from principle or positive injunction.

Such was the Jewish dread of idolatry that artists were, according to Origen,<sup>a</sup> even forbidden to enter the Jewish state. The object of this prohibition was that uneducated persons should have no opportunity of being seduced by the works of artists from the worship of the true God. As the original church sprang from the Jews, from these the introduction of idolatry was not to be feared; but shortly the converted Gentiles far out-numbered the Jews, and nothing was easier for them to pass back to idolatry. It was the interest therefore of the Church to forbid images in the strongest terms, as when once admitted the result was obvious and inevitable.<sup>b</sup> This was seen by some of the early fathers, who made constant efforts to ward off so imminent a calamity from the Church. Tertullian writes with great zeal against artists, as persons of iniquitous occupations.<sup>c</sup> They could not even be baptized until they had forsworn their art; and if an artist was found, subsequently to his admission into the Church, to have recurred to his former occupation, he was excommunicated. But this was the case chiefly only with the Catholic or rather the Romish Church.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> 'Contra Celsum,' iv. 31.

<sup>b</sup> See Münter, 'Sinnbilder und Kunstvorstellungen der Alten Christen,' Altona, 1825; a work containing much interesting matter on this subject. <sup>c</sup> 'De Idololatriâ,' c. 11.

<sup>d</sup> Bingham, 'Orig. Eccles.' iv. p. 223.

Tertullian calls Hermogenes the African painter and philosopher, who was a Gnostic, “*Bis falsarius, et cauterio et stylo,*” twice forger, both with the *cauterium* and with the pen; a remark with reference to our subject of double interest: the expression *cauterium* (the instrument, already described, used by encaustic painters, to blend and fix their colours) shows that encaustic painting was still a method in common practice in the second century of our æra.

This animosity against Pagan customs was of course carried into the more minute affairs of life, and had its influence in the choice and adoption of articles of dress, ornament, and other luxuries. Clemens of Alexandria in one of his discourses<sup>e</sup> specifies the limits to which the engraving of signet rings, &c., might extend; he deprecates all images and recommends only symbols; as—the dove, the fish, a ship, a lyre, an anchor, and similar emblems of the early Christians. This picture presents a very striking contrast to the state of feeling and opinion on this matter which shortly supervened.

The great change respecting the toleration of images which took place in the third and fourth centuries was doubtless owing to the rapidly increasing stability of Christianity; it could afford to be tolerant: the result however justified the fears of the earlier dignitaries of the Church, and for many centuries the principal ecclesiastics pro-

<sup>e</sup> ‘*Paedag.*’ iii. c. 11.



tested against the growing abuse of images pictorial as well as plastic. The Gnostics appear to have been the first who had recourse to their use. The churches were painted to a considerable extent, probably as early as the beginning of the fourth century. The first notice of this use of painting occurs in a canon of the Council held at Illiberis (Granada) in Spain about 305 A.D., which decreed that there should be no images in the churches, and that that which was revered and adored should not be painted on the walls—a Canon which has since been explained as referring only to the Trinity, and not to saints or martyrs, as these were not adored.<sup>f</sup>

Towards the close of the fourth century images appear to have increased; an interesting letter of Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis, to John, bishop of Jerusalem, is preserved by St. Jerome, and in it the following remarkable passage occurs:—"On my journey through Anablata, a village in Palestine, I found a curtain at the door of the church, on which was painted a figure of Christ or some saint, I forget which. As I saw that it was the image of a man, which is against the command of the Scriptures, I tore it down, and gave it to the church authorities, with the advice to use it as a winding sheet for the next poor person who might have occasion for one, and bury it."

Many other notices however occur in the Greek and Latin writers of the fourth century which

<sup>f</sup> Labbei, 'Conc.' i. p. 970; Münter, l.l.

show that the dread of a restoration of Paganism through the influence of images had very generally ceased ; and in some instances the painters are even exhorted to celebrate the glories of the martyrs with their colours.<sup>§</sup>

Paulinus, bishop of Nola, introduced paintings into two churches of St. Felix which he built at Nola and Fondi at the close of this century; and these paintings were probably among the earliest decorations of their class in Italy. The reason given by the bishop for these decorations is remarkable and highly creditable to him. Drunkenness appears to have been a common vice of that period ; and the annual celebrations of the festivals of the saints, by bringing many illiterate people together, were the immediate causes of many gross excesses and debauchery. To mitigate this disgraceful state, Paulinus had recourse to the decoration of the churches with Bible stories and illustrations of the lives of the martyrs, trusting by this means to elevate the feeling of the populace and to draw them from their gross sensuality to the contemplation of a higher state, and to a more worthy expenditure of their leisure hours. It was a noble effort at popular education by the best means probably in his power ; but his success was doubtless little commensurate with his intentions.

Throughout the fifth century it became a gradually more prevalent custom to decorate the

§ See Münter, l.l. Einleitung.

churches erected in honour of the saints with illustrations of their martyrdoms, in colours and in mosaics; the latter style became eventually preferred as more durable, and being more costly, it was a greater evidence of devotion—not to the saint, but to the cause in which he suffered.

Sixtus III., and Leo the Great or St. Leo, are conspicuous among the first who carried this mode of decoration to a magnificent degree: the great apsis of the choir of the church of St. Paul, outside the walls of Rome, is still adorned with the mosaics executed by the order of Leo: similar works were executed for Hilarius in the church of St. John on the Lateran, and Simplicius decorated that of Santa Maria Maggiore at Rome. The example of these Popes was followed by the Emperor Maximian at Ravenna; the mosaics executed by his orders in the church of St. Stephen still exist.<sup>h</sup>

All these works, as well as many others that have perished, were executed in the fifth century; from which it is evident that at this time it was a general practice to decorate the churches with pictures and statues; and the artists of the period must have been considerably numerous, though wholly unknown at present. The grosser form of Christian idolatry commenced from this period; a populace unable to read, and obsessed by a superstition commensurate with its ignorance, was not likely to ap-

<sup>h</sup> Ciampini's 'Vetera Monumenta, &c.' contains engravings from these mosaics.

preciate exactly the nature or purport of these images which their bishops had set up ; and, instead of examples of fortitude and incentives to a higher intellectuality, they were looked upon as holy images and mediators, and, from mere moral records or spiritual symbols, were converted into material saints, and became the objects of gross idolatry. What earlier prelates had foreseen and warned against in vain, was in vain resisted by contemporary dignitaries of the Church ; and notwithstanding several edicts of Councils against the adoration of images, their use gradually prevailed, and, surviving all the efforts of the Iconoclasts in the eighth and ninth centuries, finally triumphed throughout the whole of Christendom, both in the western and in the eastern empire.

The various images of Christ still held sacred in the Roman church were declared spurious in two separate Councils ; in the seventh general Council held at Constantinople in 754, and in the Council assembled by Charlemagne at Frankfort in 794, in which the famous miraculous image of Edessa was expressly mentioned.<sup>1</sup>

Before the time of Constantine the early Christians used symbols only, as the monogram of Christ and the alpha and omega. The monogram is composed of the first two letters of the Greek name of Christ, X and P, the P being placed upon the X, but it was variously written. To these were added the fish, the dove, the lamb, the cock, the ship, the

<sup>1</sup> Münter, l.l.

palm, the vine-branch, and others. Christ himself was first represented as the good shepherd, but variously: in later times he was represented with his right hand raised in the act of benediction. Various typical representations also occur from the Old Testament, as Moses striking the rock, Daniel in the lions' den, and others.<sup>k</sup>

Several early Christian paintings were discovered in the Roman catacombs in the beginning of the seventeenth century. The best were found in a chamber in that part of the catacombs on the Via Appia under the church of St. Sebastian, called after St. Calixtus, who was *Pope* from 219 to 223 A.D. These paintings will serve as a specimen of the art of the period.<sup>1</sup> This chamber is painted on three of its sides and upon the ceiling. On the wall opposite to the entrance, in a niche, is Orpheus. Over the arch in the middle is the Adoration of the Kings; of which, however, the Madonna and Child, and a town (Bethlehem) in the background, are all that remains. Lower on the left is a man pointing upwards, supposed by Dr. Kugler to be the prophet Micah, and to have reference to the words—"But thou, Bethlehem Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet

<sup>k</sup> Boldetti, 'Osservazioni sopra i Cimiteri de' SS. Martiri e Antichi Christiani, 1720; Münter, 'Sinnbilder,' &c.

<sup>1</sup> Antonio Bosio, 'Roma Sotteranea,' 1632; Aringhi, 'Roma Subterranea Novissima,' 1659; Bottari, 'Sculture e Pitture Sagre estratti dai Cimiteri di Roma,' 1737; D'Agincourt, 'Histoire de l'Art par les Monumens,' &c.

out of thee shall *he* come forth unto me that is to be ruler in Israel" (Micah v. 2). On the right is Moses striking the water from the rock. On the wall to the left of the entrance, in a niche, is Daniel in the lions' den. The centre above the arch is obliterated. On the left is a figure supposed to be Job; on the right is Moses unbinding his sandals; on the wall to the right of the entrance, in the niche, is the ascension of Elijah; above the arch in the centre Noah looking out from the ark, and the return of the dove; to the left a woman praying; and on the right the raising of Lazarus. On the ceiling, within a circle, is a bust portrait of Christ, the body being naked, with the exception of some drapery hanging upon the left shoulder.<sup>m</sup> This is supposed to be the earliest of the portraits of Christ, and to have served as the type of subsequent portraits. The resemblance, however, in the early portraits of Christ is a general one: they are very little like the description given of Christ by John Damascenus in the eighth century, but there is considerable resemblance in them to the head described in the pretended letter of Lentulus:—"A man of stately figure, dignified in appearance, with a countenance inspiring veneration, and which those who look upon it may love as well as fear. His hair, rather dark and glossy, falls down in curls below his shoulders, and is parted in the middle after the manner of the Nazarenes. The forehead

<sup>m</sup> Kugler, 'Hand-book of Painting,' &c., book i. § 6.

is smooth and remarkably serene; the face without line or spot, and agreeably ruddy. The nose and mouth are faultless; the beard is thick and reddish, of the colour of the hair, not long, but divided; the eyes bright, and of a varied colour."

This letter, purporting to be addressed to the Roman Senate, first appears in the writings of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the eleventh century."

The image of Edessa, already alluded to, has a remarkable history attached to it; its origin is related by Evagrius,<sup>o</sup> a writer of the sixth century. This is the Sancta Veronica, or holy true image, which is mentioned by John Damascenus,<sup>p</sup> Cedrenus,<sup>q</sup> and other historians of the Church. The tradition is as follows:—Abgarus, king of Edessa, in Mesopotamia, who was confined by sickness, from which the treatment of his physicians gave him no relief, having heard of the miracles performed by Christ in Judæa, sent a messenger to him to invite him to come to Edessa to cure him of his complaint. This messenger was a certain Ananias, who was a painter, and Abgarus had ordered him that, if he could not persuade Christ to come to him, he was at least to bring his portrait. Ananias delivered his letter, and on

<sup>n</sup> Gabler, 'De ἀθροῦσα Epistolæ Publii Lentuli ad Senatum Romanum de Jesu Christo scriptæ,' Jena, 1819.

<sup>o</sup> 'Hist.' iv. 27.

<sup>p</sup> 'De Fide Orthodoxa,' iv. 16.

<sup>q</sup> 'Annal.' p. 145, Xyland.

account of the crowd around him retired to an eminence close by, and there attempted to make a drawing of his face. This, either owing to Christ's repeated movements, or, as Damascenus says, the refulgence of his countenance, he found it impossible to do. Christ himself, however, accomplished his purpose for him: having called for water to wash his face with, he wiped it with a linen cloth which he gave, with an answer for Abgarus, to Ananias, who found Christ's likeness imprinted on it. Abgarus, as he had anticipated, was cured by the touch of this portrait, and it became afterwards an object of universal veneration at Edessa, until it was removed to Constantinople by Nicephorus Phocas, in the second year of his reign, A.D. 964. It was subsequently carried to Rome, where it is still preserved in the church of San Silvestro in Capite. Another account states that it was taken to Genoa and deposited in the church of San Bartolomeo.

The interchange of letters between Christ and Abgarus is mentioned by Eusebius and Procopius, but Evagrius is the first to mention this miraculous portrait, or Sancta Veronica—the image framed by God, which the hands of man have not made, but Christ God sent to Abgarus. There is another Sancta Veronica at Rome, of which the traditional origin is different. It is said to be a cloth which was presented by a woman to Christ to wipe his



face with, in the procession to Calvary.\* It is mentioned in various old Church documents.

The principal monuments of early Christian painting (for they must have been made from paintings) are, as already observed, the mosaics of the old Christian churches, or Basilicas, in Rome, Ravenna, and other parts of Italy. "The Basilicas," says Dr. Kugler, "for so were called the earliest churches erected after the model of ancient buildings—consisted of an oblong space, the nave, to which in general were attached side-aisles, and which was terminated by a spacious semi-domed recess (the *apsis*, also called the tribune). In front of this recess stood the altar; the apsis consequently formed the most sacred part of the building, and was always richly ornamented, even when other parts were comparatively plain. The figure of Christ (seldom that of the Virgin) was represented in the upper part of the recess, with the Apostles and other saints at his side, all of gigantic size, and a hand generally appears above Christ (the Almighty power of the Father), holding a crown over his head. Underneath, on a narrower division, stands the Lamb of the Revelation, with twelve sheep (representing the disciples); above, and on

\* See upon these sacred portraits generally:—Chifflet, 'De Linteis Sepulchralibus Christi Servatoris Crisis Historica,' c. 33, 34; and Gretser, 'Syntagma de Imaginibus manu non factis, deque aliis a San Luca pictis,' fol. Par. 1625, or 'Opera,' vol. xv. p. 178, *et seq.*

each side of the arch which terminates the recess, there are generally representations from the Apocalypse, alluding to the advent of the Lord ; in the centre frequently the Lamb on the throne, and near it the symbols of the Evangelists, the seven candles, the four and twenty elders, who raise their arms in adoration toward the Lamb, &c. In the larger Basilicas, where a transept is introduced before the recess, it is divided from the nave by a large arch, called the arch of triumph ; in this case the subjects from the Apocalypse were generally represented on the arch.”\* These mosaics, mostly executed from the fifth to the ninth centuries, are similar in character to the illuminations in the manuscripts of the period, and with them constitute the only remains of the time. They must, however, be considered as good representations of the art of the time, as works of such importance would hardly be executed from the designs of any other than the most distinguished artists.

The whole period from the establishment of Christianity in the fourth and fifth centuries, until the revival of the arts and letters, has been familiarly termed the dark ages. There can, however, be scarcely a question that the darkness is somewhat reciprocal ; that is, the dark ages are those of which we are ignorant ;—the darkness is more subjective than objective. Certainly the historian of art has little information to offer concerning this long

\* Kugler, ‘Hand-book of Painting,’ &c., book i. § 7.

period. The mosaics and the manuscripts both show that the arts were not extinct, and from some few MSS. it is evident that painting was still much cultivated in Constantinople about the fifth and sixth centuries. The monks, however, were probably the principal artists. Almost incessant wars, pests, and famines, had driven those studiously inclined, as much as the religiously disposed, to seek the retirement and protection of the cloister; and rendered the convents the chief conservatories of literature and the arts. Many monasteries of the middle ages attained celebrity by the ingenuity of their artists; among these is particularly deserving of mention the convent of Saint Gall, in Switzerland. Tutilo, or Tuotilo, and Notker, monks of this convent, were the most celebrated painters, sculptors, and gold-workers of their time in Germany. Tutilo was particularly distinguished; he was contemporary with the Abbot Salomo of Saint Gall (891-921), who was a great patron of art, and he made for him a golden crucifix of wonderful workmanship. An old German writer of the name of Ekkehard speaks of Tutilo as "mirificus aurifex;" he was however also musician, poet, orator, and statesman: the emperor Charles the Thick complained that such a man should be immured in a convent. A celebrated picture or image of the Virgin, which was long an object of veneration at Metz, was the work of this monk.†

† Goldast, 'Rerum Alemannicarum Scriptores,' &c.

Lessing supposes that this Tutilo, or Tuotilo, was the same person as the Theophilus Presbyter, who wrote a Latin treatise on painting—'De omni Scientiâ Artis Pingendi'—called also 'Theophili Presbyteri Diversarum Artium Scheda:' there are several MSS. of this old treatise, more or less complete; one has been recently acquired by the British Museum. Lessing published the complete treatise in 1781 from the MS. at Wolfenbüttel, in the sixth number of his 'Beiträge zur Geschichte und Litteratur.' It contains directions for painting in oil, which has caused those who have confounded the Van Eycks' method into one of painting simply with oil, instead of compounds with oil, to regard it as spurious.

Though painters were doubtless in considerable numbers throughout the whole of the middle ages, the illuminations in MSS. constitute the principal or almost entire remains of actual painting of the period; the first portion of the series of Popes' portraits in the old Basilica of St. Paul, near Rome, constituting the chief exception. This remarkable series of paintings, which was nearly entirely destroyed in the conflagration of the church in 1823, consisted of the portraits of two hundred and fifty-three popes, and was commenced in the fifth century by St. Leo, who brought the series down to his own time; it was continued by St. Symmachus, and again afterwards by Benedict XIV. and Pius VII. The bronze gates of this

church, which are decorated with engraved designs filled in with various metals, were cast in 1070 at Constantinople by the founder Stauracius, at the expense of the consul Pantaleone Castelli.<sup>u</sup> This is evidence of the superior state of the arts at Constantinople to what they were in the West: the same evidence is shown by the Byzantine MSS., which are very superior in their illuminations to the Latin. There can be little doubt that painting was in a much higher state in the capital of the East than in any other part of the empire. This may be partly accounted for by the constant presence of a great court, and partly by the much greater security enjoyed at Constantinople than at Rome, or in any other part of the empire, especially in the northern and western portions.

<sup>u</sup> Nicolai, 'Della Basilica di San Paolo;' Platner and Bunsen, 'Beschreibung der Stadt Rom,' vol. iii. pt. 1.

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## CHAPTER XIII.

THE MANUSCRIPT ILLUMINATIONS: FROM ABOUT  
500 A.D.

THE illuminating of MSS. is generally considered as a connecting link between ancient and modern painting. This is, however, giving it an importance which certainly does not belong to it. These illuminations, though all that is now left, are, as already shown, only one form of the painting of the middle ages. The reason of their preservation is obvious; being of small dimensions, and as part of MSS. having a value beyond their illuminations, there was both greater facility and greater interest in their preservation; and further, being painted on vellum, there was little danger of their decay through time. On the other hand, panels, canvasses, and paintings on walls, independent of the difficulty of their removal and deposit in safe places in cases of emergency, were constantly exposed to injuries from which the illuminations of MSS., from their situation and character, were always preserved. It would scarcely have been extraordinary if the illuminations of MSS. had been much more numerous than they are, and there had been no other traces of a middle-age painting whatever. The monasteries were doubtless the

chief manufactories and depositories of MSS., and the monks their principal scribes: but the writers and illuminators of MSS. were distinct persons; the ornamental initial letters and borders were not even made by those who wrote the MSS., which is evident from the fact that some MSS. want the initial letters altogether, the spaces being left to be filled in by the proper artist. From what Vasari says of Don Jacopo of Florence, in the Life of Don Lorenzo, it appears that initial or large-letter writing was still a distinct occupation, for he celebrates this monk as the most distinguished large-letter writer (*Scrittore di Lettere Grosse*) of Europe in the fourteenth century. This Don Jacopo left his convent, *degl' Angeli*, sixteen folio choral books with miniature illuminations by a brother of the same convent, Don Silvestro; and their extraordinary skill was so highly venerated by their brother monks that they embalmed their right hands after their death and preserved them in a tabernacle. The portion of these books which was executed by Don Silvestro is probably as much as was ever at any time done by the painter or illuminator, the *miniature*, as he was called (from *minium* or *minio*, red lead, the first decorations consisting simply of red lines or initials on the titles or at the commencement of MSS.), and it was doubtless undertaken by him as any other ordinary matter of business. For although it is probable that some monks and artists distinguished as *miniatori* were exclusively occu-

pied on such illuminations, they were also executed by some of the greatest painters of their time, who, we know, were far from being so exclusively engaged, as Simone Memmi, Franco Bolognese, Giotto, Don Bartolomeo, Squarcione of Padua and his pupils, Liberale da Verona, Girolamo da' Libri, Giulio Clovio, Cosimo Tura, Fra Angelico da Fiesole, and the celebrated Memling. Many more names doubtless might have been added, had not the custom of illuminating MSS. declined as painting progressed. The above-named painters, however, were it not for our more accurate information concerning them, might have been classed as mere links of the chain of *miniatori*, who are supposed not only to have been the preservers of painting during the middle ages, but also the instructors of the earliest masters of the Renaissance. The idea therefore broached by Lanzi and others, of the *miniatori* or illuminators of MSS. being the preservers of painting, is a mere theory founded on the assumption, that because these illuminations are the only remains we possess of certain ages, they were the only paintings of those ages.

Miniature painting, however, as one of the forms of art, may be safely considered as an index to the state of the art of the period: for we find that the best miniatures were produced about the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the art of painting itself was in its highest state. Memling may be safely pronounced as the best of all illuminators:



the miniatures of Giulio Clovio, who was nearly contemporary with him, are too highly finished, and are much less vigorous than those of the great Flemish painter. Our space will admit of only a slight review of the progress and character of this department of painting.

It appears that the earliest MSS. of Greek and Roman origin are only slightly ornamented, their embellishment consisting in little more than the occasional introduction of red titles, or commencements and initials. Some of the most valuable MSS. known are in the celebrated collection of the Vatican. The earliest of these is probably the Virgil (Vaticana, No. 3225), containing fifty miniatures, which it is conjectured may be of as early a date as the fourth century. The execution of the designs is very coarse, and inferior to their conception, which may be copies from earlier works: the lights are picked out with gold. The Byzantine MSS., of which there are many in the Vatican, are better illustrated than those of the Western Empire; many of them are executed with great care and detail. No. 405 Vaticana is a MS. of the book of Joshua; it is a *volumen* or roll of parchment, thirty-two feet long, and is of the seventh or eighth century. The illuminations of this MS. are among the best of the early Christian illustrations: they have all the characteristic imperfections of Byzantine painting in the extremities; but in treatment, costume, and in the military

equipments they approach the designs of antiquity. In the Vatican is also (No. 1613 Vaticana) the celebrated Menologium or Calendar, executed about 1000 A.D. for the Emperor Basilius II., called Porphyrogennetus, and supposed to have been procured from Constantinople by Ludovico Sforza, Duke of Milan. It is imperfect, there being but the months from September to February inclusive; it contains, however, four hundred and thirty miniatures upon gold grounds, illustrating the Life of Christ, and the lives of all the saints whose days occur in these months of the year. The names of the painters are inscribed upon the miniatures—Pantaleon, Simeon, Michael Blachernita, Georgius Menas, Simeon Blachernita, Michael Micros, and Nestor. The illustrations are poor in invention, but have considerable merit in the expression of the heads, in the draperies, and in the general detail of execution. The figures in action are the most defective; those in repose are frequently natural. The subjects from the Lives of the Saints are chiefly their martyrdoms: Byzantine architecture is introduced in many of the back-grounds. It was presented by the Cardinal Sfondrato to Pope Paul V., who placed it in the Vatican in 1615. It was published in 1727, with a Latin translation, by Cardinal Annibale Albani; but the engravings do not do the miniatures justice. The Calendar was completed from a MS. in the library of Grotta Ferrata, in which, however, there are no illustrations.

The best Greek MSS., according to Platner,<sup>d</sup> are those of the period of the Comnene Emperors, from 1056 until 1204 A.D., from Michael VI. until the capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders; and particularly during the reigns of Alexius I., Johannes II., and Manuel I.; and this opinion is justified by the engravings from those MSS. in D'Agincourt's 'Histoire de l'Art par les Monuments,' &c. Of these MSS. the following are the best:—The Homilies of St. Gregory Nazianzenus (Vaticana, No. 463), executed in 1063; it contains however only one illustration—the author writing: the 'Dogmatica Panoplia,' fortifications against heresies (Vaticana, No. 666), executed for Alexius Comnenus (1081–1118); it contains three large illustrations upon a gold ground—two representing the Fathers of the Church bringing the materials of the book to the Emperor, above whose head is a vision of the Saviour; and the third the Emperor presenting the finished work to the Saviour seated on the throne: the first portion of the subject is on the two sides of the same leaf, which suggests the idea that it is a copy of the original picture of the subject, and as there was not room for the whole design on one page, it was finished on the other side. The figures of these paintings are perhaps the best contained in early MSS.; they are about nine inches high, are brilliantly coloured, and the heads have a great deal of expression; the Emperor is dressed in Oriental costume, which is exe-

<sup>d</sup> 'Beschreibung der Stadt Rom,' vol. ii. pt. 2.

cuted with minute attention to detail. (D'Agincourt, vol. v. pl. lviii.)

Another MS. of great interest (Biblioteca d' Urbino, No. 2) is an Evangelium, or the four Gospels, executed in 1128, in the reign of Johannes Comnenus. The illustrations of this MS. are:—Christ seated between Justice and Love, both crowned—the Saviour is blessing with his right hand the Emperor, with his left, the emperor's son, Alexius: the Evangelists writing; the Birth of the Saviour; his Baptism; the Birth of John the Baptist; and the Saviour releasing the souls from purgatory or limbo, the Devil lying chained under his feet. The draperies in these illustrations are good, as are also the heads of the emperor, his son and the Evangelists, which are the best; this MS. is likewise ornamented. Vaticana No. 394, a MS. of St. John Climachus, contains some very curious designs; it is called the Ladder, *κλίμαξ* from its contents, which treat of the virtues as the steps of the ladder to heaven; the vices also are personified accompanied by devils, and causing precipitation from the ladder: the vices are blue and the devils black. The figures are very small, but carefully executed, and well coloured; the male, however, are much better than the female figures. Platner remarks that short plump figures are a characteristic defect of the inferior Byzantine MSS.

The great superiority of the Byzantine over the Latin MSS. of the Middle Ages agrees with all other evidence in indicating Byzantium or Con-

stantinople as the head seat of the Arts in this period, and also corroborates the view stated above as to the relative importance of manuscript illuminations in the history of Art. The examples which we have already considered bring us to the beginning of the thirteenth century, when the dawn of the revival of painting commences.

The great period for manuscript illuminations in the West was apparently the age of Charlemagne, who, as well as his grandson, Charles the Bald, was a great patron of such works of taste. The celebrated so-called Charlemagne Bible, long preserved at Rome in the church of St. Paul, but now in the church of San Calisto, in Trastevere, is one of the most valuable Latin MSS. extant. The first illustration is an allegorical picture of Charlemagne, and his protection of the church: about two-thirds of the illuminations are from the Old Testament, the rest from the New, and they constitute together the entire history of the fall and redemption of man, a series which is known as the 'Speculum Humanae Salvationis,' and which, with variations in the detail, constantly recurs in the works of later ages. The figures are designed with the characteristic defects of the period, but the illuminations are distinguished for the beauty of their ornamental decorations.

England also had its illuminators, who were no way behind their Continental neighbours in decoration. Among the Saxons at the close of the

tenth century, says Sir F. Madden,<sup>b</sup> a peculiar style of ornament prevailed, which for boldness, correctness of design, and richness, is not surpassed by any works executed on the Continent at the same period. The 'Benedictional of St. Ethelwold,' belonging to the Duke of Devonshire, written and illuminated between 963 and 970, is the most complete example of this Art in England. It was executed by a monk of Hyde Abbey (then the most celebrated place in England for such works), named Godeman, for Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester. It is a folio of 119 leaves of vellum, measuring  $11\frac{1}{2}$  inches in height, by  $8\frac{1}{2}$  in width, and contains thirty large richly-coloured drawings.<sup>c</sup> There are several interesting MSS. in the British Museum illustrating old Saxon customs.

Large illuminated initials are said to have commenced with the Greeks in the seventh century; and they attained their utmost elaboration in the twelfth. Some of these letters are ornamented with all kinds of fanciful figures, composed of men, animals, birds, fish, and flowers; as they generally illustrate the text, they have been termed *lettres historiées*. In French and English MSS. of the

<sup>b</sup> In the Introduction to Shaw's 'Illuminated Ornaments selected from MSS. and early printed Books from the Sixth to the Seventeenth Century.' London, 1833.

<sup>c</sup> See Mr. Gage's 'Dissertation on the St. Ethelwold Benedictional,' in the 'Archæologia,' vol. xxiv. p. 22, where all the illustrations are engraved.



Dinner ; the Company Pledging each other.—Cotton MS., Cleopatra, C. 8.

fourteenth century, initials in purple, red, and gold are very frequent, which contain figures of men and animals, and terminate in spiral scrolls, which extend along the upper and lower margins of the page, and support small groups or single figures of dogs, hares, apes, &c., much resembling the decorative etchings and woodcuts of the modern German schools.

The designs in the MSS. advance in equal relative progression with painting itself; and when we come to the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, we meet with many illuminations which show an advanced period in Art, though these illustrations themselves, except those of Memling or Clovio, are rather epitomes of the defects of the Art of their period than its excellences. Several MSS. in the British Museum contain good specimens of the characteristic illuminations of these centuries. After the sixteenth century, though illuminated MSS. were still occasionally produced, the demand for MSS. themselves comparatively ceased; their illumination therefore, and this branch of painting, were likewise suspended.

Though the discussion of the character of these later MSS. is here against the order of time, as we must presently consider the works of a more remote period of history, it is as well to say in one place, what little our space will admit on the subject of MSS.

Besides the painters already mentioned there



were very few illuminators of celebrity. One of the earliest was Oderigi of Gubbio, noticed by Dante in his 'Purgatorio' (canto xi.); he died about 1300 A.D. His more celebrated pupil, Franco Bolognese, likewise noticed by Dante in the same canto, was still living in 1313. Simone Memmi, the painter of Laura, and by whom there is a miniature of Virgil writing, in a MS. of that poet, in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, died at Avignon in 1342.

Attavante, a Florentine artist of the fifteenth century, was a very celebrated illuminator of MSS. There is in the Library at Brussels a magnificent Missal, which he illuminated for Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary. The former regents of Belgium used to take their official oath upon this volume; the first to do so were the Archduke Albert and Isabella in 1599; and the Prince of Saxen-Teschen, in the name of Joseph II., was the last, in 1781. It was probably brought to Brussels by Maria, sister of Charles V.; she obtained the government of the Netherlands after the death of her husband, Ludwig II. of Hungary. Attavante was still living in 1487. Julio Clovio's illuminations are injured by their excessive finish: he spent, according to Vasari, nine years in executing twenty-six miniatures in a breviary of the Virgin, for the Cardinal Alessandro Farnese; it is now in the Royal Library at Naples. Clovio died

in 1578. Oderigi and Attavante, and the few before mentioned, are the only illuminators of MSS. known exclusively as such, who have obtained great fame; and they were probably not exclusively engaged on such works.

There is a Psalter in the British Museum, supposed to be of English origin, of perhaps the latter part of the thirteenth century, or probably the early part of the fourteenth (Reg. 2, b. 7.), in which the drawing of the period is much better represented than is generally the case in MSS. Some of the illuminations are fair specimens of the design of the Italian frescoes of the period; and it is a matter of rare occurrence to find the illuminations of MSS. even approximating the best style of design of their respective ages. It is an octavo volume, containing 320 leaves of vellum; on the first sixty-five are illustrations from the Old Testament, in transparent water-colours, in the usual style of such drawings, the designs being drawn in outline, and the colours lightly washed in. These are followed by drawings of Saints, in body colours or distemper, which are likewise first drawn in outline; but in this style the outline is frequently obliterated by being painted over with the body colour. These designs are followed by a Calendar, and finally comes the Psalter, which fills the greater part of the volume, and is ornamented with many designs both of events and

customs. It belonged to Queen Mary, to whom it was presented in 1553 by its then possessor, Baldwin Smith.

An interesting MS. of the fifteenth century is the celebrated Bedford Missal, executed in France for John, Duke of Bedford, and Regent of France, in the reign of Henry VI., now in the possession of Sir John Tobin at Liverpool, who purchased it at a sale in 1833 for 1100*l*. It is a small folio, and contains fifty-nine illustrations nearly of the size of the page, and about a thousand small illustrations with ornamental borders, &c. In this MS. is the only known portrait of the Duke of Bedford: the portrait of the duke, engraved by Vertue for Rapin's 'History of England' was engraved from this illustration. It was presented by the duke to Henry VI., at his coronation in France. There are several illuminated French romances of the fifteenth century in the British Museum, with many valuable illustrations with regard to costume. Among the most interesting are:—the famous 'Romance of the Rose' (Harl. MSS. 4425); the collection presented by Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, to Margaret of Anjou (Royal MSS. 15 E. vi.); and the 'Poems of Christine of Pisa' (Harl. MSS. 4431). The 'Romant de la Rose,' supposed to have been executed towards the close of the fifteenth century, is very richly illuminated. The poem itself dates from the thirteenth century; it describes a dream, and contains 22,000 lines in 100

chapters : it was commenced by William de Lorris, and completed by John de Meun. The British Museum MS. is considered the most beautiful one extant of this poem, which has, however, been several times printed. The last edition was published at Paris in 1814.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>d</sup> A fuller account of the illuminations of MSS. is given in the article 'PALÆOGRAPHY' in the 'Supplement to the Penny Cyclopædia,' and the whole subject will be found thoroughly treated in the following works:—Dibdin's 'Bibliographical Decameron,' 1817; D'Agincourt's 'Histoire de l'Art par les Monumens,' &c., 1823; Shaw's 'Illuminated Ornaments,' already cited; and the magnificent work recently published in Paris by Champollion Figeac, and Aimé Champollion, Fils, 'Paléographie Universelle; Collection de Fac-Similes d'Écritures de tous les Peuples et de tous les Temps,' par M. Silvestre, 1839-42, 4 vols. folio.

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## BOOK III.

THE REVIVAL OF PAINTING IN ITALY:  
THE QUATTROCENTISTI—ASCENDANCY OF  
SENTIMENT.

## CHAPTER XIV.

THE RENAISSANCE, OR THE REVIVAL OF PAINTING  
IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY : CIMABUE AND  
GIOTTO.

WHATEVER were the causes, and they are not obvious, the formative arts made a surprising and comparatively sudden progress in the thirteenth century. Various promoting causes have been suggested as the source of this improvement; but it was doubtless owing to the combination of many causes. The Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204, and the greater intercourse generally which then arose between the Italians and the Greeks or Byzantines, appears to have been one of the principal sources of the advancement. Many Greek artists were established in Italy in the thirteenth century, and were apparently particularly active at Venice, at Siena, and Pisa; Greek artists, however, were certainly in the habit of going to Italy long before this time. Part of the improvement

was doubtless owing to the study of ancient bassi-relievi, which first attracted the notice of artists about this time ; and also much must be attributed to the more than ordinary powers of observation of some few individual artists, who shook off the trammels of convention and ancient precedent, and had immediate recourse to Nature herself. The gold grounds, however, appear to have belonged to the Byzantines, who also were probably the masters of the Italians in the preparing of their paints and colours and other technicalities ; for it is more probable that such arts would be even improved at Byzantium, which since its elevation to the imperial capital, had never, until 1204, been wasted by a foreign enemy, than that they could be so much as preserved in Italy, for ages the common prey of all the marauding tribes of the North.

The great fact of the revival of Art is that it became imitative as well as representative, though in the first two centuries, or before Masaccio, the imitation was as much imaginary as real : the art of looking at Nature had to be learnt before the imitating her could be acquired. It is worthy of remark, that the more positive revival of Art was simultaneous, or immediately following the discovery of gunpowder and the invention of printing. The discovery of gunpowder, by rendering the baronial and other strongholds untenable, and thus putting an end to the impunity of tyranny and plunder at once, enabled the peaceful and industri-

ous classes to devote themselves to commerce and the useful arts, with comparative security and proportionate success. Printing disseminated both ancient lore and modern science, spreading a new spirit of inquiry, and a taste for knowledge of every description. The immense improvement which took place in the Arts in the fifteenth century was doubtless greatly owing to this new impulse given to the whole range of the intellectual and perceptive faculties of man.

Among the modern schools of Italy, the Florentine or Tuscan takes the precedence in point of time; not that there were not painters in Venice and Pisa and Siena, as early as at Florence, but it was the earliest school which distinguished itself. Another reason of the prominence of the Florentine school is that Vasari, being himself a Florentine, has made his native place conspicuous above all others in his lives of the painters, and has preserved much information concerning many Florentine artists of little general repute, while he has left us in ignorance about many masters of the highest merit, belonging to other parts of Italy; and these hiatus, left by him in the history of painting, are not wholly made good by the works of other writers.

The earliest known Tuscan artists are of the thirteenth century; these are Niccola and Giunta, of Pisa. Niccola, who was a sculptor, was the first who approximated nature in design since the time of the ancients. Giunta Pisano was a painter of

frescoes and easel pictures ; there are several of his works still extant : a crucifixion of about the year 1236, at Assisi, by him, is remarkable for the solidity of its impasto ; it is in water-colours, and yet is unaffected by water. Contemporary with Giunta were Guido of Siena and Buonaventura Berlingieri of Lucca, and all belong still to the Byzantine school in style—brown carnations, emaciated faces drawn in coarse outlines with hatchings for the shadows, elongated extremities, even when the figures are short and thick, which they occasionally are, and positive colour in the draperies.

There is a Madonna by Guido in the Malevolti chapel in the church of San Domenico at Siena, which is a work of great merit for its time ; it is engraved in Lastrì's 'Etruria Pittrice,' which contains also many other specimens of early Tuscan painting.

Margaritone of Arezzo is another painter who was antecedent to Cimabue. There is a Crucifixion by Margaritone in the church of Santa Croce at Florence, placed near another of the same subject by Cimabue ; and it is evident, by a comparison of these two works, that there is not that difference between them to warrant the denial of the title of painter to Margaritone, if Cimabue has a right to it. A picture of San Francesco in the church of Sargiano near Arezzo, has a dignified expression. The inscription on this picture, "Margarit de Aretio *pingebat*," seems to indicate directly or indirectly a Greek source of instruction, as the word



*pingebat* is in the imperfect tense, according to the custom of the Greek artists. Other artists of this period were Maestro Bartolomeo of Florence, and Andrea Tafi, who was twenty-seven years older than Cimabue. Tafi, says Vasari, was the restorer of mosaic in Tuscany. The Master of Tafi was a Greek of the name of Apollonius, who was at that time engaged at Florence to execute some mosaics in the church of San Giovanni.

The first painter of great fame, however, among the moderns, was GIOVANNI CIMABUE, who was born at Florence in the year 1240. Great prominence is given to the name of Cimabue, through Vasari commencing with him his 'Lives of the most eminent Artists from the Revival of Art in Italy ;'<sup>a</sup> a distinction which is not justified by any remarkable superiority of his paintings over those of his immediate predecessors, though some improvement is evident in his works ; his proportions are better, and his figures have more life.

<sup>a</sup> Vasari, 'Vite de' più eccellenti Pittori, Scultori e Architetti,' published at Florence in 1550, and again by himself in 1568, in three vols. 4to., with portraits cut in wood, and many corrections and new lives of deceased artists down to the year 1567. This is the great text-book for the history of Italian art : it has gone through many subsequent editions of which the best is Bottari's, printed at Rome in 1758, and at Leghorn and Florence in 1767-72. The German translation by Schorn is very valuable on account of its notes. There has been also a new edition recently published at Florence, in one volume.

Notwithstanding Vasari's account of Cimabue, and the high place he occupies in his work, his life is involved in obscurity; much that Vasari has said of him is the offspring of his own imagination. He is supposed to have been the pupil of Giunta Pisano, whom he assisted in 1253, in his thirteenth year, in his frescoes at Assisi: Vasari says he learnt of some Greeks who were employed to decorate the church of Santa Maria Novella at Florence. This may be true, for Cimabue, as well as Giunta, must be reckoned among the painters of the Byzantine school. One apparently of his early and most remarkable pictures is the Colossal Madonna still in the church of Santa Maria Novella, to which it was carried with great rejoicing in formal procession by the people when finished.

According to Vasari, Charles of Anjou, King of Naples, visited Cimabue when he was painting this picture. Charles was in Florence in 1266, when he was on his passage to Naples to take possession of his kingdom; this picture, therefore, must have been completed not long after that time, for it was nearly if not quite finished then: the picture was exhibited to the populace on the occasion, in honour of the King's visit. If there is any truth in the story, Charles probably paid Florence a visit on some later occasion, for in 1266 Cimabue was only twenty-six years old, if born in 1240, and yet at Charles's visit he had



Madonna and Infant Christ, by Cimabue.

already executed several celebrated works at Assisi, Florence, Pisa, and other places, which he could scarcely have done at so early an age. From the great rejoicing on the occasion of the exhibition

of this picture upon the king's visit, the district of Florence where Cimabue lived received the name of the Borgo Allegri; there is still a street of this name near the Port' alla Croce.

Another good picture in the same style is the Madonna and Child in the Academy at Florence: it was formerly in the church of Santa Trinità. It is doubtful what works were executed by Cimabue in the lower and upper church of San Francesco at Assisi; some, however, he certainly painted there: a few of those attributed to him by Vasari still remain; others are destroyed. Cimabue returned to Florence before the frescoes were completed, and they were finished many years afterwards by Giotto. Cimabue was still living in 1302, when he was engaged at Pisa. He died at Florence, and was buried in the church of Santa Maria del Fiore.

DUCCIO DI BUONINSEGNA, of Siena, was one of the most distinguished contemporaries of Cimabue, but he was some years his junior. He was to the school of Siena what Cimabue was to the Florentine. He, too, painted a picture which was carried in public procession to its destination, the Cathedral of Siena, where, as well as this picture, some other of his works are still preserved. This remarkable altar-piece, originally painted (between 1308 and 1311) on both sides, is now cut in two. On one side, the former front, is a Madonna and infant Christ, surrounded by angels; on the other side, or former back, is a series of small pictures illus-

trating the history of the Passion, all containing many figures executed with great industry, and surprising skill and judgment, when compared with the art of the period. He died probably about 1320.<sup>c</sup>

GADDO GADDI also, another celebrated artist, was the contemporary and friend of Cimabue; he was, however, chiefly distinguished as a worker in mosaic. He assisted Tafi in the mosaics of San Giovanni; and executed alone the mosaic of the coronation of the Madonna in Santa Maria del Fiore, or the Cathedral of Florence, which is still extant. He was invited, through the reputation he acquired by this work, to Rome in 1308 by Clement V., to execute some mosaics in the new church and palace of San Giovanni in Laterano, which were rebuilt after the fire of 1307. There are some mosaics also by Gaddi in Santa Maria Maggiore at Rome; and there is a Madonna in the Cathedral at Pisa. Gaddi executed likewise many pictures in distemper; none however are preserved. He died in 1312, aged sixty-three, and was buried in Santa Croce.

GIOTTO DI BONDONE, born at Vespignano in 1276, is the first Italian painter who can be declared free from the superstitious reverence of ancient forms, the trammels of Byzantine or middle-age art, and he surpassed his master Cimabue as much as Cimabue surpassed those who preceded him. It

<sup>c</sup> See Rumohr, 'Italienische Forschungen,' and the article Duccio in the 'Supplement to the Penny Cyclopædia.'

was not the least of Cimabue's merits to have discovered and cultivated the ability of Giotto. The story of Giotto is more like a romance than history. He was a shepherd boy, and one day, while tending his father's sheep, and amusing himself by drawing one of the animals on the ground, he was surprised in the act by the great painter Cimabue, who, struck with astonishment at the boy's talent, asked him to go and live with him; and Giotto, having obtained the consent of his father, followed his new patron to Florence with delight.

Though the design of Giotto is extremely hard and Gothic, and he paid little attention to either perspective or chiaroscuro, there are no traces of the Byzantine style in his mature works, which constitute the first great epoch in modern painting; and Florence dates its preponderance in the history of Tuscan painting from the time of Giotto. Great as was the fame of Cimabue, says Dante, it was obscured by that of Giotto:—

‘Credette Cimabue nella Pintura  
Tener lo campo; ed ora ha Giotto il Grido,  
Si che la fama di colui s'oscura.’—*Purgatorio*, xi. 32.

Giotto made an immense advance in composition and expression, and his forms have much nature. He painted history, portrait, and miniature, and worked in mosaic; he was also sculptor and architect: the celebrated Campanile of Florence is his work. He enriched many of the cities of Italy

with his works, of which the frescoes of the church of San Francesco at Assisi appear to have been the most extensive. But the greater part of his paintings have perished; those of the church del Carmine at Florence, so lately as 1771, by fire; they are however preserved in the prints of them by Thomas Patch, published at Florence, together with some of the works of Masaccio and Fra Bartolomeo, in 1770-1772. The works in the church of San Francesco at Assisi are engraved in Fea's 'Descrizione della Basilica di San Francesco d'Assisi.'

One of the results of the progress made by Giotto through his abandoning conventional forms for Nature herself, as a principle which appears to have guided him in everything that he painted, was the accomplishment of portraiture. Portrait had been attempted before, but Giotto, according to Vasari, was the first of the moderns who successfully attempted it. In 1840 a most interesting recovery was made of some portraits painted by Giotto, in the chapel of the Palazzo del Podesta. He painted here the portraits of Dante, Brunetto Latini, Corso Donati, and others. Some years after they were executed they were white-washed over by the political enemies of Dante and his party, during their triumph. The hope of recovering these interesting works had been long entertained, and after various unsuccessful attempts at different times, the labours of Mr. Aubrey Bezzi

were finally crowned with success in July, 1840, when the plaster was removed, and the portraits were discovered in good preservation.<sup>d</sup>

Giotto was at Rome in the pontificate of Boniface VIII., and there, in the ancient Basilica, he executed in 1298, with the assistance of Pietro Cavallini, his well-known mosaic of the Disciples in the Storm, called the *Navicella* of Giotto; it is now in the vestibule of the present St. Peter's. It has been frequently moved, and has also undergone many restorations. At Naples he painted for King Robert several works, most of which have perished; but the Seven Sacraments, painted in the church of Santa Maria del Incoronata, are still in good state of preservation, and represent the style of Giotto more perfectly than any other of his remaining works. Giotto left also valuable works at Padua, Ravenna, Milan, Pisa, Lucca, Avignon, and at many other places. He went to Avignon between 1305 and 1314, when he took a present of a bronze crucifix to Pope Clement V. from Andrea Pisani, which led to that sculptor's commission from Clement for the bronze gates of the Baptistery of Florence. Giotto returned to Florence in 1316, and he died there in 1336. He was buried with great pomp in the church of Santa Maria del Fiore, the Cathedral of Florence.

The scholars and imitators of Giotto were very numerous, and his works had doubtless an indirect

<sup>d</sup> 'Hand-book of Painting,' Italy, Editor's note, p. 50.



influence in all parts of Italy. His principal followers were Stefano Fiorentino, Tommaso di Stefano, called Giotto, and Taddeo Gaddi, the son of Gaddo Gaddi. These painters worked in the same style as Giotto, sometimes inferior and sometimes superior to him in execution. Stefano Fiorentino obtained the nick-name of the ape of Nature—'Scimia della Natura,' from the supposed close imitation of his works.

TADDEO GADDI, says Vasari, excelled Giotto in colouring, and in light and shade. Giotto was his godfather, and he lived with him twenty-four years. He enlarged somewhat upon the style of Giotto; he gave more bulk and motion to his figures. His principal works were painted in the church of Santa Croce, and in the chapel degli Spagnuoli in the church of Santa Maria Novella. The figures of the three saints seated in this chapel are magnificent in the character of the heads and in the style of the draperies; they represent San Dionysio Areopagita, San Pietro Lombardo, and San Severino Boezio: they are engraved in Lastri's 'Etruria Pittrice.' Taddeo was still living in 1366; he was born in 1300, according to Vasari.

Contemporary with Giotto was BUONAMICO DI CRISTOFANO, called Buffalmacco; he was the scholar of Andrea Tafi, and is celebrated for his humour by Boccaccio and Saccheti, and for his ability by Ghiberti and Vasari. Of the works attributed to him there are still some remaining in

the Campo Santo at Pisa, and at Arezzo. Buffalmacco, when he chose to exert himself, says Vasari, which, however, was not often, was equal to any of his contemporaries. He died in very poor circumstances, according to Vasari, in 1340, aged seventy-eight. Should this be true, he was an older painter than Giotto.

ANDREA DI CIONE, called L'Arcagnuolo, or, in the contracted form, Orcagna, was one of the most distinguished of the immediate successors of Giotto; he did not, however, go beyond Giotto in painting; he was apparently more distinguished as a sculptor and architect than as a painter. He painted several works, together with his brother Bernardo, in the churches of Florence, and in the Campo Santo at Pisa where the Triumph of Death and the Last Judgment were by Andrea, and the Hell by Bernardo.\* Orcagna repeated them in Santa Croce at Florence; and he had previously painted a Hell from Dante's 'Inferno' in the Strozzi Chapel in Santa Maria Novella; he placed his friends among the blessed, and among the damned his enemies. As an architect, Orcagna built the Loggia de' Lanzi in the Piazza Granduca at Florence; he built also the monastery of Or San Michele, and designed the celebrated Tabernacle of the Virgin of that monastery. Neither the

\* See Lasinio, 'Pitture del Campo Santo di Pisa,' and the article 'Orcagna,' in the 'Supplement to the Penny Cyclopædia.'

date of his birth nor death is known, but he was active probably from about 1340 to 1375.

Two distinguished scholars of Andrea Orcagna were Bernardo Nello of Pisa, and Francesco Traini of Florence; of the latter there is a celebrated picture of Thomas Aquinas in Santa Caterina at Pisa.

SIMONE MEMMI DI MARTINO of SIENA, the well-known painter of Laura, was one of Giotto's principal rivals. He is the subject of two of Petrarch's sonnets, and this poet further says of him in one of his letters: "I have known two distinguished and excellent painters—Giotto a citizen of Florence, whose fame among moderns is immense, and Simone of Siena." Simone was born at Siena, about 1284, and after distinguishing himself by his works in many cities of Italy, he went to Avignon, where he died in 1344. Few of his works now remain, and those few are dry and meagre performances: the principal are the frescoes of the chapter of the chapel degli Spagnuoli at Florence, painted in 1332. Among these works are the reputed heads of Petrarch and Laura; but this story, as Lanzi says, is a mere fable, for Memmi did not paint Laura until four years after the completion of those works, in 1336, after he was called to Avignon. Of this portrait of Laura, however, nothing whatever is known. The reputed head of Laura above mentioned is engraved in D'Agincourt's *Histoire de l'Art par les Monumens, &c., Peint.*, pl. cxxii. 2,

and in Cicognara's *Storia della Scultura*, i. pl. 43. The only authentic portrait of Laura extant appears to be a miniature in a MS. in the Bibliotheca Laurentiana at Florence, which however may be a copy of Memmi's; there is an outline of this portrait also in Cicognara's work, i. pl. 42. A miniature of Virgil by Memmi has been already noticed.

Painters began to be very numerous in Florence at this time; they formed themselves in 1349 into a society or guild under the name of Compagnia di San Luca, Company of St. Luke, so called from the middle-age tradition that St. Luke was a painter.

This tradition is of very early origin. Johannes Damascenus, who lived in the eighth century, speaks<sup>f</sup> of the portrait of the Virgin which St. Luke painted upon a panel. There is a picture of the Madonna in the Byzantine style, painted on a panel of Cyprus, which is attributed to St. Luke, in the church of Ara Celi at Rome. There are other similar works attributed to him. D. M. Manni, in his treatise 'Dell' Errore che persiste di attribuirsi le Pitture al Santo Evangelista,' published in Florence in 1776, was the first who ventured to point out the error and inconsistency of attributing these works to St. Luke. As Manni however erred in the particular of assigning the origin of the tradition to the confounding an old Florentine painter of the twelfth

<sup>f</sup> 'Opera,' pp. 618, 631. Paris, 1712.

century of the name of Luca, and nicknamed Santo or the Saint for his piety, his argument was weakened by Tiraboschi, who showed that the tradition was of an earlier date than the old painter Luca Santo of Florence. There was, however, a Greek hermit of a much earlier age of the name of Lucas, who painted images of the Virgin, and thus St. Luke the Hermit became confounded with St. Luke the Evangelist.<sup>5</sup> Independent of the inconsistency of assigning the most meagre Byzantine paintings to the contemporary of the first Roman emperors, when the arts were still in a high state, and all the masterpieces of antiquity still preserved in the temples and the public galleries, painting and all other imitation of the human form was strictly forbidden the Jews; and as already observed, artists themselves were excluded from the Jewish provinces.

A similar society was established at Siena in 1355; there was also a society of sculptors at Siena whose statutes were translated into the vulgar tongue as early as 1292. Vasari, in the Life of Jacopo di Casentino, gives a brief account of the origin of the Compagnia of Florence, from which it was evidently a religious institution. It was founded, he says, by the artists of Florence, both those who followed the Greek manner, and those who adopted the new manner of Cimabue, in order that they might return thanks to God for the flourishing state of the art at that time; that they might meet to-

<sup>5</sup> See Lanzi, 'Storia Pittorica dell' Italia,' ii. 10.

gether occasionally ; and that they might be enabled to afford each other assistance in cases of need. Their first house of prayer was the principal chapel of the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova, given to them by the Portinari family. The original statutes were drawn up, or at least sanctioned, by the following painters—Lapo Gусci, Vanni Cinnuzzi, Corsino Buonaiuti, Pasquino Cenni, Segna d'Antignano, Bernardo Daddi, Jacopo di Casentino, Consiglio Gherardi, and Domenico Pucci.

Of this period, the following Tuscan artists likewise should be mentioned : Lippo Memmi, Cecco di Martino, Ambrogio Lorenzetti, and Bernardo or Berna da Siena, were celebrated at Siena ; at Florence, Giovanni and Angelo Gaddi, sons of Taddeo, were distinguished painters. Angelo Gaddi was an excellent colourist, but he was content to intimate the works of Giotto and of his father. His scholar, Cennino Cennini, who is the oldest Italian author on painting, was likewise a good colourist.

His 'Trattato della Pittura' may be termed the oldest modern book on painting ; it was first published in Rome in 1821 by the Cav. Giuseppe Tambroni, with a preface, notes, and an index. The work is divided into 171 chapters, and occupies 157 octavo pages. There are three MSS. of it extant :—that in the house of the Beltramini di Colle, which may be the original MS. noticed by Vasari ; another in the Laurentiana at Florence, Banco 78, No. 24 ; and a third in the Vatican Li-

brary, MSS. Ottoboniana, No. 2964, dated 1737, and formerly in the possession of Baron Stosch ; it is, however, badly transcribed. The first and second mentioned may be the same MS. The original MS. was finished July 31, 1437, in the prison for debtors, and when Cennini was about 80 years of age. Cennini was born about the middle of the fourteenth century, for he was apprenticed to Angelo Gaddi in 1375 at the latest, as he was with Gaddi twelve years, and Gaddi died in 1387. Supposing Cennino to have been born therefore about 1360, his book may be considered as belonging to the fourteenth century, and to give us the practice of that period. In this work Cennino treats of the rudiments of design ; colouring ; materials and their use : on the preparation of colours, their nature and origin ; and on tools : on fresco painting, on distemper on walls, and on perspective : on oil-painting with oil thickened in the sun ; on gilding : on distemper (guazzo) for panels and canvasses, and on the method of preparing grounds ; on gilding, varnishing, and illuminating parchments : and on taking casts from the life, &c.<sup>h</sup>

Further, may be mentioned, Starnina, Dello Fiorentino, Jacopo di Casentino, Spinello Aretino, and his son Parri Spinelli, Lorenzo di Bicci, and his son Neri, and Giovanni di Nicolo of Pisa, who

<sup>h</sup> There is an English translation of this interesting work by Mrs. Merrifield, 'Cennino Cennini's Treatise on Painting,' 8 vo. London 1844.

all painted more or less in the style of Giotto, as did likewise all the artists of Tuscany, until a better taste was spread by the works of Masaccio.

During the progress of painting in Tuscany, it was making nearly equal advancement in Umbria, in Rome and Venice, and in other parts of Italy. Painting was first developed in the Roman state in the cities of Umbria, Gubbio, Fabriano, Masefica, Borgo San Sepulcro, Urbino, Assisi, and other places. The influence, however, of the Umbrian school, as the early painting of these districts is termed, was extended not only over Romagna, but likewise over Tuscany. The early Florentine and Umbrian schools are not so different from each other that they can be considered as distinct when compared with the schools of Florence and Rome during the great ages of art. The decorations of San Francesco at Assisi were the joint productions of Umbrian and Florentine painters, and many painters of the schools of Florence, Umbria, and Siena had common masters.

Of the early masters of the Roman school PIETRO CAVALLINI, who is said to have been the assistant of Giotto while in Rome, is the most remarkable. He was painter, architect, and worker in mosaic. He executed many works at Rome about the commencement of the fourteenth century, but none of his paintings there now remain : some of his mosaics however are still preserved. Cavallini painted also several frescoes at Florence, Orvieto, and at Assisi,



some of which are still in a tolerable state of preservation. A Crucifixion, in the church of Assisi, is the best preserved of these works; it contains a crowd of figures, some on foot, some on horseback, and dressed in great variety of costume; angels are seen in the sky, which is of a deep bright blue. Considering the few examples which Cavallini can have had to assist him in this composition, it is a work of great merit, notwithstanding the want of perspective, and the angular and occasionally distorted design of the figures. The heads are inferior to Giotto's, but have still considerable character and expression. He appears to have been an older painter than Giotto; he died in 1344 according to Manni and Lanzi; Vasari states that he was eighty-five when he died, which places his birth in 1259, seventeen years before the birth of Giotto.<sup>i</sup>

The arts made much more rapid progress at

<sup>i</sup> Vertue supposed that Cavallini was the architect of the crosses which were erected to Queen Eleanor, and of the shrine of Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey. But, according to the dates mentioned above, Cavallini can have been only twenty years of age when the tomb was finished; 1279 or 1280, according to the inscription. However, where there is so much uncertainty no dates can be relied on, and Cavallini may possibly have been the Petrus Romanus Civis mentioned in the inscription on the tomb. Walpole adopts the supposition, and concludes that Cavallini returned to England with the Abbot Ware, who was elected in 1260, and went shortly afterwards to Rome to receive consecration from Urban IV. (1261-64.) Between 1261 and 1279, however, is a long interval. ('Anecdotes of Painting,' &c., vol. i. p. 29.)

Rome towards the end of the fourteenth century, when it again became the seat of the Papal government, after the long absence of the Popes at Avignon. Though spiritual lords, the Pontiffs of Rome required their terrestrial palaces as well as the temporal princes of the earth; and distinguished artists soon became numerous in Rome, of whom may be mentioned Ottaviano Martis, and GENTILE DA FABRIANO, a painter of much greater fame.

In the register of the Cathedral of Orvieto, Gentile is styled *Egregius magister magistrorum*. He was born at Fabriano about 1370; his father Niccolo instructed him in the physical and mathematical sciences, and Gritto da Fabriano was his master in painting. In 1423 he was engaged at Orvieto, and in the same year he painted a picture of the Adoration of the Kings for the sacristy of Santa Trinità; and this picture is now one of the choicest specimens of the early schools in the collection of the Academy at Florence. Gentile worked also with great distinction at Venice: the Venetian senate presented him with the patrician toga, and granted him a pension for life for a picture of the naval victory of the Venetians over Frederick Barbarossa in 1177; it was, however, destroyed by damp as early as the sixteenth century. At Rome likewise he executed many works, but they have all perished. A fresco of the Madonna and Child with Saints Benedict and Joseph, over the tomb of Cardinal Adimari, led Michelangelo to declare this painter's

style, like his name, *Gentile*. He taught Jacopo Bellini at Venice, and that painter's son Gentile was named after Fabriano. He died about 1450. Though much inferior to Masaccio or Fra Giovanni Angelico, Fabriano was one of the most meritorious artists of his time, and went far beyond Giotto and his immediate school. He was also well acquainted with the theory of his art; he left writings on the mixing of colours and on the art of drawing lines; he was an excellent colourist.

It was not until after the time of Giotto, who executed some works in Padua and Verona, that there were any distinguished painters in the Venetian state. The historians of Venetian art, however, date the commencement of modern painting in Venice from the eleventh century. The Doge Selvo invited some Greek mosaic-workers to Venice as early as 1070, to decorate the church of St. Mark. In the thirteenth century, after the taking of Constantinople by the Venetians, both artists and works of art became ordinary objects in Venice. Among the works of art brought from Constantinople to Venice are the four celebrated bronze horses of St. Mark, which are of ancient workmanship. Maestro Paolo of Venice, however, is the earliest Venetian painter whose time is known; an old parchment illuminated by him bears the date of 1346. There is not space in the proposed limits of this sketch to enumerate all artists that are recorded, of many of whom little more than their names

are known, as Magister Paulus, Lorenzo of Venice, Niccolo Semitecolo, all of the fourteenth century.

Of the fifteenth century more worthy names are recorded; and the early Venetian painters of this century produced many admirably coloured pictures as regards brilliancy and composition of colour, though they still designed with great stiffness, and in the Gothic taste. The small island of Murano was the seat of the new school. Quirico, Bernardino, and Andrea da Murano were its founders; and Luigi, Giovanni, and Antonio Vivarini, its earliest supporters: but its chief ornaments were Bartolomeo and Luigi Vivarini the younger. In the Sala delle Antiche Pitture, in the Academy at Venice, there are many of the works of these masters, and they are little inferior to those of the Bellini. The first oil picture, according to Zanetti, that was painted in Venice, was executed by Bartolomeo Vivarini in 1473; and it is still preserved in the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo at Venice.<sup>k</sup>

There was nothing definite or finite in the style of this period from Cimabue to Masaccio; it was essentially one of transition or passage, and did not even attain to a decided comprehension either of the crudest principles of objective representation or of the simplest rules of dramatic composition.

<sup>k</sup> After the editions of Vasari already quoted the most useful works for this period of the history of art are: Rumohr, 'Italienische Forschungen;' Baldinucci, 'Notizie dei Professori del Disegno da Cimabue in quà,' &c.; and Lanzi, 'Storia Pittorica dell' Italia.'

## CHAPTER XVI.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDIVIDUALITY OF FORM:  
MASACCIO AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES.

IN the fifteenth century, when the rule of the Medici was established in Florence, and that city gradually extended its power over the neighbouring territories, it became the capital of Tuscany in Art, as well as in matters of state. With the rise of Florence, the importance of Siena and Pisa gradually declined, and the history of the school of Florence is the history of painting in Tuscany from this period. This was not, however, a mere political distinction: through the extraordinary abilities of a few individual painters, Florence was throughout the whole of the fifteenth century justly distinguished above all other cities of Europe, for the great progress it made in the sister arts of painting and sculpture. Doubtless much of the vigour of capitals is owing to the fact of their being capitals; for, as such, they afford a greater field for enterprise, and cause a concentration of ability within their precincts. This was the case with Florence: for, of the great founders of the various epochs of Art in Florence and Tuscany, not one was a Florentine. Giotto (1276-1336) was of Vespignano; Masaccio (1402-

1443), of San Giovanni ; Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519), of Vinci ; Michelangelo (1474-1564), of Castell' Caprese ; Ludovico Cardi (1559-1613), of Cigoli ; and Pietro Berrettini (1596-1669), of Cortona. To return to the present period. The improvements which took place in painting at the commencement of the fifteenth century were of the first importance ; one of these, which was indeed essential to the more important development of form which immediately followed it, was the cultivation of Perspective : the chief promoters of this science were Pietro della Francesca and Paolo Uccello ; the latter almost neglected every other department of art for this one study, and all his principal works were to exemplify its value. There is in the first cloister of Santa Maria Novella a picture of the Drunkenness of Noah, by Uccello, in which the foreshortening of the figure of Noah is managed with great mastery and effect. Vasari says he would have been one of the greatest painters had he bestowed as much labour upon men and animals as he did upon Perspective. He was very fond of painting animals, and particularly birds, whence he derived his name of Uccello. He died, according to Vasari, in 1432, aged eighty-three.

Piero della Francesca seems to have been the first who reduced perspective to a practical system. His theoretical knowledge also of perspective seems to have been considerable ; and he was, according to Vasari, one of the best geometricians of his time :

he wrote several treatises on these subjects, some of which are still preserved at Borgo San Sepolcro, his native place. He died towards the close of the fourteenth century, aged upwards of eighty.<sup>a</sup>

Another essential to art, which was wanting in the school of Giotto, was a proper understanding of light and shade. This was in a great degree supplied by Masolino da Panicale, who executed some excellent works for the period in the chapel of San Pietro in the church del Carmine at Florence. Masolino is not less distinguished for having been the master of the celebrated Masaccio, who, if such a distinction can be claimed for an individual artist, deserves, more than any other, the title of the father of modern painting. The style of Masaccio was, in the common acceptation of the term, as used by Vasari, *modern*; that is, his composition was dramatic, his forms and character were individual, and, in the more external qualities of art, his representations were natural: this cannot be said of any previous painter. The labours

<sup>a</sup> Some of Piero's writings were, according to Vasari, dishonestly published by his pupil Fra Luca dal Borgo, or Luca Pacciolo, as his own; but the accuracy of this statement is doubted. Luca has written no work on perspective: his works are, 'Summa Arithmeticæ;' 'La Divina Proporzione,' with figures by Leonardo da Vinci; and 'Interpretazione di Euclide.' Where Luca speaks of perspective, he notices Piero della Francesca as *el monarca de la pintura*. A Life of Piero was published at Florence in 1835, by Gherardi Dragomanni.

alone, however, of Masaccio's predecessors rendered Masaccio's art possible. That many of the painters who preceded him had great ability even for any period, is certain; and it is certain also that they had recourse to the study of nature—a fact which proves that the mere study of nature, without the knowledge of what to select for imitation, will not lead to the production of fine forms. Although beautiful forms are occasionally visible in the works of the early painters, these must be attributed more to the accident of the model, than be looked upon as the result of choice; for we occasionally find the finest parts associated with the most fatal conventionalisms, and defective development in other parts of the same figure; proving the total absence of any ruling judgment, or select standard of form. In Art there is often the will without the faculty; education and convention, if founded on error or prejudice, preclude the power of viewing nature correctly. Thus it is that we sometimes find the most beautiful parts associated with others so inferior, that, from the juxtaposition, the whole appears a deformity. This defect may, however, partly arise from an error of an opposite character, from a too strict adherence to an individual model, as well as from only an occasional resort to the model, or only a partial attention to it. It appears therefore that even a strict attention to nature will not exempt us from the error of ugliness or deformity, without some



standard by which to guide our labours—a standard which experience has shown us it would require centuries to attain from an unassisted study of nature alone, on account of the infinite varieties of form in the individual. This standard had, however, in Masaccio's time, already existed for ages, in the works of ancient sculpture; and it required only the master mind to appreciate and appropriate it; and to have been the first to do this efficiently constitutes the chief merit of Masaccio, who further appropriated all the excellences of his immediate predecessors.

TOMMASO GUIDI, commonly called Masaccio (which in the complete form is Tommasaccio, and means Slovenly Thomas), was born at San Giovanni in the Valdarno, in 1402, and while still a youth became the pupil of Masolino da Panicale, who was employed until his death, about 1420, or earlier, on a series of pictures illustrating the life of St. Peter, in the Brancacci chapel in the church del Carmine at Florence. This series was continued by Masaccio after the death of Masolino, but probably after an interval of a few years, as Masaccio can have been little more than a boy at Masolino's death. Several of the frescoes in the Brancacci chapel, however, were painted before 1430; this is evident from several incidents connected with the life of Fra Filippo Lippi, who was a brother of this convent, and left it in that year an accomplished painter; and he acquired

his art from Masaccio's works painted in this convent.<sup>b</sup>

Masaccio's paintings of the Brancacci chapel were—the Expulsion from Paradise; the Tribute-money; Peter baptizing the People, in which is the celebrated naked boy trembling with cold; the Blind and the Lame cured by the Shadow of Peter; the Death of Ananias; and the story of Simon Magus, and Peter and Paul restoring a Youth to Life. The other frescoes were executed by Masolino, and Filippino Lippi, the son of Fra Filippo Lippi,<sup>c</sup> to whom the celebrated figure of St. Paul there is now attributed: this figure was adopted by Raphael in the cartoon of Paul Preaching. Filippino painted also the Consecration of the Church of the Carmine, in the cloisters of the convent.

Some writers have observed a difference in style in these paintings; the characteristics of Masaccio are much less developed in the Expulsion from Paradise and in the Tribute-money, than in the

<sup>b</sup> See the author's article on LIPPI in the 'Supplement to the Penny Cyclopædia.'

<sup>c</sup> There is a ground-plan of the chapel, with a scheme of the frescoes, in Kugler's 'Hand-book of Painting,' translation, p. 106. The works of this chapel fortunately escaped the general destruction when the convent was consumed by fire in 1771. They are all engraved by Lasinio, in his collection of engravings after the old Florentine Painters. Some of the heads are engraved by Patch in his 'Masaccio, sua Vita e Collezione di 24 Teste;' and some of the paintings by Piroli. Parts also are given in the 'Etruria Pittrice;' and in other works.



Figure of St. Paul, in the Brancacci Chapel.

Restoring a Dead Youth to Life, which is supposed to be the last work of the series. The former were doubtless painted, with the Consecration of this church, during Lippi's residence in the convent; the last, after Masaccio's return from Rome, and after the recal of Cosmo de' Medici to Florence, the period to which Vasari erroneously assigns all the paintings. Cosmo de' Medici was recalled in 1434.

The pupilage of Filippo to Masaccio, or to his works, which is in this case of equal moment, decides the earlier period in which Masaccio was employed in this church. The Consecration of the Church of the Carmine, painted in the cloister, was executed before Filippo Lippi left the convent, because Filippo painted his picture of the Confirmation of the Rules of the Carmelites by the side of it; and Filippo left the convent when he was only seventeen years old: he left therefore, at latest, in the year 1430, his eighteenth year, for he was born in 1412. In 1430 Masaccio was twenty-eight years old; and he had by this time doubtless executed all the cruder or less mature works of the Brancacci chapel. The resuscitation of the boy, which he left incomplete, and probably other portions, were painted subsequently to his visit to Rome, after 1434. He died suddenly, under the suspicion of having been poisoned, in 1443; and the last-mentioned painting was completed many years afterwards by Filippino Lippi.

Masaccio introduced his own portrait into the picture of the Tribute-money, and he is there represented as a young man, which he must have been when the first works in that chapel were painted, according to the above suggestion of the two periods in which they were executed. The fact of some of them having been executed when Fra Filippo was a boy and in the Convent del Carmine (1420-30) seems to have escaped the notice of all the commentators on the time and character of these frescoes, which it would appear from this fact were continued by Masaccio as early probably as 1425, ten years earlier than is commonly supposed, which, as already observed, likewise accounts for their difference of style, as the last works painted by him in the chapel were executed about fifteen or eighteen years later.

The Brancacci chapel was till the time of Raphael, nearly a century, the school of all the great painters of Rome and Tuscany, Michelangelo and Raphael included. In it Masaccio introduced a style of composition and design, which until the appearance of Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo experienced no material change. Da Vinci and Fra Bartolomeo enlarged only upon Masaccio's style; Michelangelo invented a style of design of his own, but he outlived it; while the style of Masaccio, expanded to its utmost, still survived in the works of Raphael and the great painters of the Roman school, not because it was Masaccio's, but simply

because it was true. The great improvement in design, however, which was accomplished in the works of Masaccio was not entirely due to him ; for Lorenzo Ghiberti and Donatello had made great advancement in sculpture ; and Gentile da Fabriano and Vittore Pisanello, with whom Masaccio became acquainted at Rome, had made great improvements upon the Giottesque school of painting.

The most able contemporaries of Masaccio, and those whose works contributed most to the establishment of the modern school of art, were Fra Giovanni da Fiesole, commonly called Fra Angelico, Benozzo Gozzoli, and Fra Filippo, and his son Filippino already noticed.

FRA ANGELICO was not so much distinguished for any external quality of art, as for the high religious sentiment of his works. His name was Giovanni Guido ; he was born in Mugello in 1387, and he entered the order of the Predicants at Fiesole in 1409. His elder brother Benedictus Petri de Mugello, an illuminator of MSS., appears to have been Giovanni's instructor, and Giovanni himself executed many illuminations of MSS. His principal works are some frescoes in the churches of Florence, and especially in the convent of San Marco, where he painted the history of the Passion of Christ. He painted also others for Niccolo V. at Rome, in the chapel of San Lorenzo in the Vatican.

The frescoes in the chapel of Niccolo V. are

still in a good state of preservation. They were neglected for about two centuries, owing to the loss of the key of the chapel, and were almost forgotten. Hirt, of Berlin, first drew the public attention to them: they are now well known in prints.<sup>d</sup> They represent subjects from the lives of Saints Stefano and Lorenzo, with their martyrdoms; the evangelists, and the principal fathers and doctors of the church.

These works, and the frescoes by Fra Giovanni in the convent of San Marco at Florence, are chiefly distinguished for their purely religious sentiment: as works of pictorial art merely, they belong rather to the school which preceded Masaccio, as in point of time Fra Giovanni himself does likewise, for, though he survived, he was fifteen years older than Masaccio. With reference to their sentiment, however, his productions are finished works, and have not been surpassed in expression even by the greatest painters of any subsequent period. They are exclusively religious or ecclesiastical; they breathe the purest piety and humility, and are the vivid impressions of his own mind and character, not acquired or imitated, but proceeding from an untutored simplicity, pure nature. The genuineness of his sentiment and expression was so

<sup>d</sup> Giangiacomini, 'Le Pitture della Capella di Niccolo V. Opere del B. Giov. Ang. da Fiesole,' Rome, 1810. See also Platner and Bunsen, 'Beschreibung der Stadt Rom,' and D'Agincourt, 'Histoire de l'Art par les Monumens,' &c.

prominent, that his works became in a great degree, mediately when not immediately, the type of character for religious art to his own and to subsequent generations. His execution is sometimes extremely elaborate and beautiful, especially in small easel pictures, in distemper, of which there are many good specimens in the collection of the Florentine Academy.

The sincerity of his sentiment was justified by the simplicity of his life; he was commonly known as Fra or Beato Angelico, and was of so high a character as to be offered the archbishopric of Florence by Pope Niccolo V.; but he declined the dignity, upon the plea that to govern or to lead were alike incompatible with his nature. He recommended to the Pope, Fra Antouino, a brother of his order, as more worthy of the post. This monk received the appointment, and became so distinguished a prelate as to be afterwards canonized by Adrian VI.

Fra Giovanni was remarkably methodic in his habits; it was his persuasion that whoever would represent the works of Christ must be with Christ, and he accordingly commenced every undertaking with prayer, and invariably carried out his first impression, treating it as an inspiration. He died in 1455.

BENOZZO GOZZOLI, the pupil of Fra Giovanni, was likewise a very distinguished painter of this period, but though he studied the works of Masaccio,



he remained behind him in design. His best works are those in the Campo Santo at Pisa, where he painted twenty-four frescoes, covering one whole side of the building. He commenced in 1469, and finished in 1485, and was paid for each picture about ten ducats (66 lire). He died probably in 1485, aged about eighty. There is the tomb of Benozzo in the Campo Santo, which was presented to him by the city of Pisa in the year 1478. It is evident that he was then living, from the inscription itself—"Hic tumulus est Benotii Florentini qui proximè has pinxit historias. Hunc sibi Pisanorum donavit humanitas, mccccclxxviii." (This is the tomb of Benozzo of Florence, who painted these nearest histories. The gratitude of the Pisans gave it to him in 1478.) Vasari therefore was in error if he placed the death of Benozzo in 1478 from this authority.

The chief merit of FRA FILIPPO LIPPI was in *tone*, or light and shade, and colour; and in this respect he was the immediate precursor of Leonardo da Vinci and Fra Bartolomeo. He was one of the first painters of the Revival who devoted his chief attention to external qualities, and cultivated the sensuous element of art. This quality, as a distinctive characteristic of his works from those of Fra Giovanni, was the faithful exponent of their moral distinction of character.<sup>e</sup> Fra Filippo, however, will ever hold a prominent place among the great

<sup>e</sup> See the article in the 'Supplement to the Penny Cyclopædia,' already referred to.

painters of the Renaissance of art. The Academy of Florence contains some admirable specimens of his easel pictures: the best of his frescoes are those of the Cathedral of Prato.<sup>f</sup> He executed some works also in the convent of Santa Margherita at Prato, and during their progress in 1458 he seduced and carried off Lucrezia Buti, a young Florentine lady who was being educated in the convent; Filippo was then forty-six years of age. He was engaged on the frescoes of the Cathedral of Prato from 1456 to 1464. The Martyrdom of St. Stephen, one of these compositions, is reckoned Filippo's master-piece: he introduced his own portrait in it, and he painted that of Lucrezia Buti, says Vasari, as Herodias in one of the scenes from the Life of John the Baptist, forming also part of these frescoes. Fra Filippo painted a few pictures in what is termed *in oil*; he was one of the first Italian painters who adopted this new method. It was introduced into Italy by Antonello da Messina in about 1450 or 1455, and was made known at Florence by Domenico Veneziano, in about 1455-60. Andrea Castagno obtained the secret from Domenico, and is said afterwards to have killed him; apparently in the year 1463.<sup>g</sup>

<sup>f</sup> 'Delle Pitture di Fra Filippo Lippi nel coro della Cattedrale di Prato, e de' loro restauri; relazione, compilata dal G. F. B. (Canonico Baldanzi),' Prato, 1835.

<sup>g</sup> See the respective articles on these painters in the 'Penny Cyclopædia' and its 'Supplement;' and the article HUBERT VAN EYCK in the Supplement.

Fra Filippo died at Spoleto in 1469, aged fifty-seven. He is said to have been poisoned by the relations of Lucrezia Buti; but this is, however, probably a mere report. The relations of Lucrezia could do her little service by poisoning Filippo, whom she evidently loved; there was also an interval of about eleven years between her abduction and his death. Their son Filippino was in his tenth year when Filippo died.

FILIPPINO LIPPI painted much in the style of his father, and carried the excellences for which Filippo was distinguished still further. His masterpiece is perhaps Peter and Paul accused before Nero, with the Martyrdom of St. Paul, in the Brancacci chapel in the church of the Carmine. Filippino died in 1505, aged forty-five.

Other celebrated Florentine painters of this period were Andrea del Castagno, called the Infamous (on account of his reputed assassination of Domenico Veneziano), Sandro Botticelli, Raffaelino del Garbo, Domenico del Ghirlandaio, Cosimo Roselli, Piero di Cosimo, Antonio del Pollaiuolo, Andrea Verocchio, and Luca Signorelli of Cortona.<sup>h</sup>

Antonio del Pollaiuolo, the pupil of Lorenzo Ghiberti, is said to have been the first artist who studied the dead subject for the purposes of design.<sup>i</sup> He died about 1500.

<sup>h</sup> See the respective notices on some of these painters in the 'Penny Cyclopædia' and 'Supplement.'

<sup>i</sup> See his St. Sebastian in Lastrì's 'Etruria Pittrice.'

LUCA SIGNORELLI of Cortona is one of those artists whose works contributed most towards the great æra of art which immediately followed the close of the fifteenth century. He was born at Cortona in 1439, and became the pupil of Piero della Francesca. His most celebrated works are the frescoes in a chapel of the Cathedral of Orvieto.<sup>k</sup> They represent the history of Antichrist, the Resurrection of the Dead, Hell, and Paradise. “The usual biblical and theological subjects,” says Mr. Eastlake,<sup>l</sup> “which appear to have been authorized during the middle ages, were adopted by the great painters, with no other change than that of superior treatment. These illustrations existed originally in illuminated MSS., and when wood-engraving was invented, the same subjects, and sometimes precisely the same designs, were repeated. The wild mystery called the History of Antichrist may perhaps be less ancient, or, being ‘probably’ of Greek origin, may have been less known among the Italian and German painters than the usual Scriptural and legendary subjects. The block-book ‘Der Entkrist,’ printed about 1470, was not, however, the first that added this series of representations to those in general use; since a similar work, the *Historia Sancti Johannis Evangelistæ, ejusque Visionis Apoclypticæ*, appeared more than twenty years earlier. Luca Signorelli appears to have adopted his gene-

<sup>k</sup> Della Valle, ‘Storia del Duomo d’Orvieto,’ Rome, 1791.

<sup>l</sup> Kugler, ‘Handbook of Painting,’ p. 127, note.

ral inventions at Orvieto from these or similar sources." The painting of this chapel of the Madonna di San Brizzio was commenced in 1447 by Fra Giovanni da Fiesole, who painted only a part of the ceiling. The frescoes were continued by Luca Signorelli in 1499: his contract is dated April 5 of that year. He undertook the completion of the ceiling for two hundred ducats, and the painting of the walls for six hundred ducats, besides free lodging, and two measures of wine, with two quarters of corn every month. The ceiling was finished in 1500, and the amount of remuneration for the rest of the chapel will enable us to form a good conjecture as to the completion of the whole. As the ceiling therefore occupied one season, the rest may have occupied three, which would bring the conclusion of the whole at the latest down to 1503, which is only three years before Michelangelo exhibited at Florence his celebrated design known as the "Cartoon of Pisa:" and such is the vigour and boldness displayed in these works, in invention, in the drawing of the naked figure and in foreshortening, that Vasari and many others have indicated Signorelli as the immediate precursor of Michelangelo. Vasari says that Michelangelo always expressed high admiration for the works of Signorelli, and observes that all may see that he made use of the inventions of Luca in his great work of the Last Judgment in the Sistine chapel at Rome, espe-

cially in the forms of the angels and demons and in the arrangement.

Luca Signorelli died in 1521 at Arezzo, whither he had retired in his old age, and where he lived, says Vasari, more after the manner of a nobleman than an artist.

Though the school of Florence took a decided lead in matters of art at the close of the fifteenth century, Rome, Venice, Padua, and Bologna were not unworthy competitors for fame.

At Rome, PIETRO VANUCCI, commonly called PERUGINO, from Perugia, near which place he was born in 1446, enjoyed a very distinguished name, but it was to the Florentine painters that he owed much of the excellence of his works. Whether he was the pupil of Verocchio or not, he had during his residence in Florence the example of the noble works of Fra Giovanni and of the Brancacci chapel; and no painter, even of ordinary ability, could at that time have beheld such works without being incited to emulation and improved by them. His taste, however, in design was always mean or little; his forms were dry and meagre when correct, and his draperies extremely stiff and formal. His composition was mere symmetrical arrangement; his figures, however, often show a graceful delicacy of attitude and motion, and a softness and simplicity of expression unequalled by any of his immediate contemporaries; in colouring he was



From the Entombment, in the Palazzo Pitti, by Perugino.

sometimes brilliant and harmonious. He died in 1524.

Perugino's greatest glory is that of having been the master of Raphael. He had many other distinguished scholars, as Bernardino Pinturicchio, Andrea Luigi of Assisi, called L'Ingegno on account of his great abilities; Domenico and his son Orazio di Paris Alfani, Eusebio da San Georgio, Giannicola da Perugia, Lo Spagna, Berto di Giovanni, Sinibaldo da Perugia, Adone Doni of Assisi, and Palmerini of Urbino. No pupils ever imitated their master so closely as did those of Perugino. Raphael himself, before his visit to Florence and acquaintance with Fra Bartolomeo, painted completely in his style. Jacopo Pacchiarotto of Siena is frequently accounted among the scholars of Perugino, but there is no evidence of this pupilage. Pacchiarotto surpassed Perugino in perhaps every respect, though he painted much in the same style.

The same fault in design and composition which has been found with Perugino and his school, characterized also the works of the Bellini, the most distinguished contemporary painters of Venice.

GIOVANNI BELLINI was born at Venice in 1426, and was the pupil of his father, Jacopo Bellini. According to Ridolfi,<sup>m</sup> his style was an aggregate of all the excellences of painting of his time. And

<sup>m</sup> 'Le Maraviglie dell' Arte, ovvero le Vite degli illustri Pittori Veneti, e dello Stato,' 4to. Venice, 1648.



Lanzi finds only a hardness of outline, which prevents his works from being a just representative of the style of the sixteenth century, or the *cinquecento* style. His best works are in oil, and consist chiefly of Madonnas and portraits. Antonello of Messina, who had learnt oil-painting of J. Van Eyck, settled in Venice about 1470, but it is not at all probable that oil-painting was still unknown there at this time, as it had been practised at least ten years by the Florentines.

Ridolfi tells the improbable story, that Giovanni Bellini, being struck with the brilliancy of Antonello's pictures, disguised himself as a Venetian cavaliere, sat to Antonello for his portrait, and by watching his process, discovered the secret of oil-painting. Giovanni's colouring is always brilliant, and his works are highly finished; but his drawing is generally very hard and dry. However, unlike most painters, he improved as he grew old, and condescended to borrow beauties from much younger masters: he endeavoured in his later works to imitate the design and colouring of his own pupil, Giorgione. He painted until 1516, in which year he died, aged ninety, on the 29th of November."

Bellini's celebrated pictures, described by Vasari, which he painted in the Sala del Gran Consiglio, in the ducal palace of Venice, were destroyed by fire in 1576. He was assisted in these works by

<sup>n</sup> Cadorin, 'Dello Amore ai Veneziani di Tiziano Vecellio,' Venice, 1833.

his elder brother, Gentile Bellini, and Luigi Vivarini the younger.

GENTILE BELLINI, so named after Gentile da Fabriano, his father's master, was also a distinguished painter, though very inferior to Giovanni. He was sent by the Venetian government to Constantinople, to paint the portrait of Mahomet II., and execute some other works for that Sultan, who had sent to Venice for a painter. Gentile had a lesson in objective truth of imitation, from the Sultan, during his stay in Constantinople, which made him very anxious to terminate his visit as quickly as possible. He presented the Sultan with a picture of the head of John the Baptist on a charger; and the Sultan remarked that he had made the adhering portion of the neck project from the head, which he said was incorrect, as it always retired close to the head when this was separated from the body: and, to show the painter that he was correct in what he asserted, he had the head of a slave cut off for the occasion, establishing his criticism by terrible reality. Gentile, not knowing whether he himself might not perform a similarly exemplary part in confirmation of some other statement of the Sultan, took his departure from Constantinople as quickly as decorum would admit.<sup>o</sup>

VITTORE CARPACCIO, and MARCO BASAITI, of the Friuli, were worthy rivals of Giovanni Bellini. Basaiti, who was of a Greek family, was apparently

<sup>o</sup> Ridolfi, l.l.

a pupil of Bartolomeo Vivarini. He was in colour, and perhaps in other respects, superior to Bellini. He was superior in composition, in accessory groups, and in the management of the background and scene generally. He was still living in 1520, and accordingly most likely survived Raphael; yet to judge from his works one would suppose a century or two to have intervened between the periods of these painters.

Vittore Carpaccio painted much in the style of his contemporary Basaiti, and gave still more attention to the accessories of his works, and introduced into them, more than any of his contemporaries, the ordinary objects and incidents of life. He likewise survived Raphael.

The following painters also, of the numerous school of Giovanni Bellini, may be cursorily mentioned:—Bellin Bellini, Girolamo Mocetto, Niccolò Moreto, Marco Marziale, Giambattista Cima, Giovanni Martini, and Martino da Udine, or Pellegrino di San Daniello. Other painters of the Venetian school of considerable merit were Carlo Cima, Vittore Belliniano, Giacopo Montagnana; and—more modern in their style, Vincenzio Catena, Cordegliaghi, Francesco Bissolo, and Girolamo di Santa Croce.

At Padua, FRANCESCO SQUARCIONE spread a taste for antique art. Squarcione's school was distinguished from that of Bellini, in that it made form its principal aim. This school, of which

Andrea Mantegna is the great exponent, arose from a study of ancient bassi-rilievi, and its fault is that it adhered too exclusively to its models. Squarcione had perhaps the greatest school that is known in the whole history of art; he is said to have had one hundred and thirty-seven scholars: he was called the father and primo maestro of painters. His house was one of the chief attractions of Padua: and his museum of drawings and casts from remains of ancient sculpture was the most extensive and celebrated of its time. He had travelled over many parts of Greece, and all over Italy, for the express purpose of making drawings of the most valuable remains of ancient art. He lived in great affluence, and divided many of his commissions among his scholars. The celebrated Book of Anthems, in the church of the Misericordia, long ascribed to Mantegna, is now considered to have been one of the commissions of Squarcione, executed by his numerous scholars. Squarcione himself appears to have been more engaged in teaching than in the practice of painting: there is only one picture at Padua by him that is known; it was painted for the Lazara family in 1452; it represents San Girolamo and other saints, and is conspicuous for good colour, expression, and accurate perspective. Squarcione died in 1474, aged eighty. He must by his numerous scholars have had much influence in the establishment of the various schools of the north of Italy. His three most distinguished scholars, and

the heads of three celebrated schools, are:—Jacopo Bellini, of the Venetian school; Marco Zoppo, one of the earliest painters of the Bolognese school; and Andrea Mantegna, the founder of the school of Mantua.

While alluding to the state of painting in the north of Italy at this period, the following masters also are deserving of mention:—Commenduno of Bergamo, Brandolin Testorino, and Ottaviano Brandino of Brescia; Vincenzo Civerchino at Crema; Stefano da Zevio or Sibeto, and his son Vincenzo di Stefano, at Verona; where also, in the latter part of the fifteenth century, there were two very distinguished painters—Liberale, the pupil of Vincenzo di Stefano, and Vittore Pisanello, celebrated as an animal painter, and likewise a famous medalist. Jacopo Tintoretto and Marcello Figolino of Vicenza were also artists of great merit for their period, especially the latter, who excelled in chiaroscuro and perspective, and painted with great delicacy.

ANDREA MANTEGNA, the greatest painter that had appeared in the north of Italy up to his time, must be noticed more particularly. He was born at Padua in 1430,<sup>p</sup> and is one of the earliest painters whose works are distinguished for a full and vigorous development of form; but, as already observed, according to the characteristic of the

<sup>p</sup> Brandolese, 'Testimonianze intorno alla Patavinità d' Andrea Mantegna,' Padova, 1805.

school in which he was educated, his style of design is too exclusively drawn from ancient bassi-rilievi, and his compositions have much the character of coloured pieces of sculpture in low relief. His principal works extant are the nine cartoons of the Triumph of Julius Cæsar, which are now preserved at Hampton Court. These works were originally painted for Ludovico Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, about the year 1490, after Mantegna's return from Rome. He visited Rome during the pontificate of Innocent VIII. (1484-1491). They were brought to England in the reign of Charles I., who purchased them, with many other pictures, of the Duke Carlo. They are painted in distemper, on paper stretched on canvas.<sup>q</sup>

Mantegna left Squarcione, and became the pupil of Jacopo Bellini, whose daughter Niccolosa he married; he was therefore the brother-in-law of Giovanni Bellini. He is said to have entered the service of Ludovico Gonzaga in 1468, and to have gone to Rome in 1488, from whence he returned in 1490. He died at Mantua in 1506.<sup>r</sup>

Mantegna engraved some of his own designs. He was one of the first painters who practised this art, which was discovered, according to the

<sup>q</sup> They were engraved in wood in chiaroscuro by Andrea Andreani in 1599; the drawings were made on the wood by Bernardo Malpizzi. There are also several later sets of prints from them in copper.

<sup>r</sup> Vasari, 'Vite,' &c., and the Notes to Schorn's German translation.

common account, by Masso-Finiguerra, a goldsmith and niello-worker\* of Florence, in the year 1452.

It appears that Finiguerra was in the habit of taking sulphur casts from his niellos, and printing with them upon damp paper, to see the effect of the design. This process, or some accident, appears to have led him finally to print with the niello itself; and a small design engraved by him in silver, representing the Coronation of the Virgin, commonly known as the *Pax* (Pix) of Maso-Finiguerra, is reputed to be the first print that was so produced. This curious silver plate was originally engraved for the church of San Giovanni at Florence, and it is now preserved in the collection of the Grand-Duke of Tuscany. The only known impression from the original niello is in the library of Paris; it is dated 1452. There are wood engravings of an earlier date.

There are still two painters of great, but of unequal merit, who, though they survived some of the greatest masters of the *cinquecento* style, or golden age of painting, belong, from the character of their works, to the *quattrocentisti*, or to the class of painters whose works illustrate that intermediate development of style, sometimes called the

\* Niello-work means literally *black work*. Niello (*ni-gellum, black*) is the name of the black composition of lead and silver, which was rubbed into the design engraved on the metal plate, to render it perfectly visible.

*Antico-Moderno*, which arose after the time of Masaccio, and characterized the whole of the fifteenth century, up to the appearance of the works of Leonardo da Vinci and Fra Bartolomeo.

FRANCESCO RAIBOLINI, commonly called FRANCIA, from the name of his master the goldsmith, was born at Bologna about 1450. He must have been distinguished as a painter in 1490, as he was then employed on extensive works in the Palazzo Bentivoglio at Bologna. Francia was originally a goldsmith and a die and niello engraver, and he generally signed his pictures *Aurifex*, jeweller; he was, however, a painter by profession likewise, for he has signed himself *Pictor*, painter, on his jewellery. The time of his death is not known; Lanzi places it in 1533. Malvasia mentions a picture of Saint Sebastian by him, which bears the date 1522, and another work of the year 1526. On the other hand, Calvi, in a Life of Francia, speaks of a MS. document in which he found the death of Francia recorded as having happened January 6, 1517-1518; and the later pictures spoken of by Malvasia are now accredited to the son of Francia.<sup>†</sup>

Francia died suddenly, according to Vasari, with grief at seeing himself so infinitely surpassed

<sup>†</sup> J. A. Calvi, 'Memorie della Vita e delle Opere di Francesco Raibolini, detto il Francia,' Bologna, 1812; Passavant, 'Rafael von Urbino und sein Vater Giovanni Santi,' Leipzig, 1839; Schorn, Translation of Vasari.



in painting by his young friend Raphael. Raphael had consigned to Francia the picture of St. Cecilia for the church of San Giovanni in Monte at Bologna, requesting him to repair any damage that might have happened to it, or to correct it if necessary, and to superintend the placing of it in the church. Francia placed the picture, and shortly afterwards died; at least such is the story, and his death was attributed to dejection at discovering his own inferiority. Few will be disposed to believe such a story; there is no necessity for accounting for the death of Francia in any remarkable way; he was sixty-seven years old in 1517, and the circumstance of his death happening soon after the arrival of the St. Cecilia, is no more worthy of attention than the fact of its happening after any other event which took place at the same time. The St. Cecilia, according to Vasari, arrived in 1518 at Bologna; but if it did, there is nothing of that superiority in it to cause the painter of the altar-piece in the National Gallery to die of vexation at his own inferiority. Vasari is apparently correct about the time of Francia's death, though we may doubt the cause assigned by him: it is more probably a mere coincidence. January 1517, according to the old mode of commencing the year with the month of March, would be January 1518 according to the present mode of reckoning.

The works of Francia are the most perfect specimens extant of the *antico-moderno* (*quattro-*

*cento*) or intermediate style of painting already described above.

The other painter alluded to as still wanting to complete the catalogue of great masters of this progressive period is GIOVANNI ANTONIO D'AMATO of Naples, where he was born in 1475, and he lived there to the age of eighty. He appears to have educated himself, and to have formed his style upon an altar-piece by Perugino in the Cathedral of Naples. Naples, however, had its artists of distinction previous to Amato. Colantonio del Fiore, and his son-in-law Antonio Solario, called the Gypsy (*Lo Zingaro*), both eminent *quattrocentisti*, were among the best painters of the fifteenth century.

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## BOOK IV.

THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF PAINTING : THE  
CINQUECENTO SCHOOLS—CO-ORDINATE DE-  
VELOPMENT OF THE SENSUOUS.

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 CHAPTER XVI.

THE FLORENTINE SCHOOL : LEONARDO DA VINCI  
AND MICHELANGELO BUONARROTI.

IN the preceding section we considered the attainment of individuality of form, and remarked upon the predominant sentimental character of the works of the *quattrocento* schools, when compared with their development as mere works of formative art. In this period we at last arrive at a co-ordinate development of essence and form.

We now come to the consideration of individuality combined with an ideal selection of form, with dramatic composition, and with local colour, and light and shade; in which combinations we have the perfect development of painting in its essential principles. This new epoch was brought about by Leonardo da Vinci, Fra Bartolomeo, and Michelangelo Buonarroti; but the works of Leo-

nardo and Fra Bartolomeo are distinct in style from those of Michelangelo. The works of Da Vinci and Bartolomeo hold a middle place between those of the *quattrocentisti* and the perfect *cinquecento* style of Michelangelo and Raphael. The same vigour of design, however, which distinguishes the works of the latter, distinguishes in nearly an equal degree those of Da Vinci and Bartolomeo in their principal works; the chief difference between these masters is in their compositions. In light and shade the last two named were superior.

LEONARDO DA VINCI was born at Vinci, in the Val d'Arno, below Florence, in 1452. His father Pietro da Vinci was a notary, and in 1484 notary to the Signory of Florence. Leonardo became the pupil of Andrea Verocchio, who was at first apparently proud of his young pupil; but when Leonardo painted an angel in a picture of the Baptism of Christ (now in the Florentine Academy), so superior to the other figures, that it made the inferiority of Verocchio apparent to all, the latter gave up painting and confined himself to sculpture.

Although Leonardo devoted himself chiefly to painting, and considered it his greatest accomplishment, he found time for many other studies: he appears to have been a universal genius. It would be almost easier to say what he was not than what he was—he appears to have had an extensive knowledge of architecture, engineering civil and military, and mechanics generally, botany, anatomy,

mathematics, and astronomy ; and he was likewise sculptor, poet, and musician ; he was also one of the best extempore performers on the lyre of his time. He himself has given the best picture of his acquirements in his letter to Ludovico il Moro, Duke of Milan, whom he wrote to, offering him his services, about the year 1483, when Leonardo was little more than thirty years of age. The following is a translation of this celebrated letter :—

“ Most Illustrious Signor,

“ Having seen and sufficiently considered the specimens of all those who repute themselves inventors and makers of instruments of war, and found them nothing out of the common way : I am willing, without derogating from the merit of another, to explain to your Excellency the secrets that I possess ; and I hope at fit opportunities to be enabled to give proofs of my efficiency in all the following matters, which I will now only briefly mention.

“ 1. I have means of making bridges extremely light and portable, both for the pursuit of or the retreat from an enemy ; and others that shall be very strong and fire-proof, and easy to fix and take up again. And I have means to burn and destroy those of the enemy.

“ 2. In case of a siege, I can remove the water from the ditches ; make scaling ladders and all other necessary instruments for such an expedition.

“ 3. If, through the height of the fortifications or the strength of the position of any place, it cannot be effectually bombarded, I have means of destroying any such fortress, provided it be not built upon stone.

“ 4. I can also make bombs most convenient and

portable, which shall cause great confusion and loss to the enemy.

“5. I can arrive at any (place?) by means of excavations and crooked and narrow ways made without any noise, even where it is required to pass under ditches or a river.

“6. I can also construct covered waggons which shall be proof against any force, and entering into the midst of the enemy will break any number of men, and make way for the infantry to follow without hurt or impediment.

“7. I can also, if necessary, make bombs, mortars, or field-pieces of beautiful and useful shapes, quite out of the common method.

“8. If bombs cannot be brought to bear, I can make crossbows, ballistae, and other most efficient instruments; indeed I can construct fit machines of offence for any emergency whatever.

“9. For naval operations also I can construct many instruments both of offence and defence: I can make vessels that shall be bomb-proof.

“10. In times of peace I think I can as well as any other make designs of buildings for public or for private purposes; I can also convey water from one place to another.

“I will also undertake any work in sculpture, in marble, in bronze, or in terra-cotta: likewise in painting I can do what can be done, as well as any man, be he who he may.

“I can execute the bronze horses to be erected to the memory and glory of your illustrious father and the renowned house of Sforza.

“And if some of the above things should appear to any one impracticable and impossible, I am prepared

to make experiments in your park, or in any other place in which it may please your Excellency, to whom I most humbly recommend myself," &c.

The original letter is in the Ambrosian Library at Milan : like all the MSS. of Leonardo da Vinci, it is written from right to left.

The Duke took Leonardo into his service, at a salary of 500 scudi per annum. No good reason is given for Leonardo's leaving Florence; the rejection of some of his schemes of improvement could scarcely be the cause. Among his propositions was the grand scheme of converting the Arno from Florence to Pisa into a canal.

Leonardo established an Academy of the Arts at Milan about 1485, and formed a numerous school of painters. He executed several pictures for Ludovico; the most celebrated, however, of all the pictures he produced at Milan was the great picture of the Last Supper, painted in the refectory of the Dominican Convent of the Madonna delle Grazie.

This celebrated picture was the greatest work that had hitherto appeared in painting: it was at least commenced, if not finished, in 1497, nine years before Michelangelo drew his famous cartoon of Pisa; eleven years before Raphael commenced the frescoes of the Vatican; and fifteen years before the completion of the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel by Michelangelo.

Leonardo is said to have used some new oil me-

dium of his own in painting this picture, and the vehicle appears to have been a bad one, for the picture had almost perished within the first half of the sixteenth century. Many copies of it, however, were made before this time, and it is well known from the prints of it by Frey, Morghen, Wagner, and others.

One of the best of the old copies is that in the Royal Academy of London, which was purchased on the Continent by Sir Thomas Lawrence. This copy is painted in oil, and was executed about 1510 by Marco d'Oggione for the refectory of the Certosa di Pavia ; and as it was copied when the original was still in a perfect state, the now almost total decay of the latter renders it very valuable. The Cav. Giuseppe Bossi, who was employed in 1807 by Eugene Beauharnais, then Viceroy of Italy, to make a copy of the picture to be worked in mosaic, did not approve of the copy by Oggione, but preferred that made by Vespino (Andrea Bianchi), which is in the Ambrosian Library at Milan : this copy was, however, painted in 1612, upwards of a century after Oggione's, and when the original was very much decayed.

Marco d'Oggione's copy must be a better criterion of what the original was, than the remains of the original itself, which was restored and much painted over in 1726 by Michelangelo Bellotti, an obscure Milanese painter. Lanzi says there was nothing of the original work



remaining at the close of the last century, besides the heads of three of the Apostles, and these were very indistinct. All subsequent judgments, therefore, with respect to the merits of Oggione's copy must be received with due reservation, as they must be more the result of individual fancies of what the original might have been, than of what by actual comparison it was found to be. No deviation from the original can be demonstrated, and none should be assumed.

Oggione made two large copies, both, it is said, from a small copy, made by himself for the purpose, the one in oil, now in the Royal Academy, and one in fresco for the refectory of the Convent of Castellazzo.

This fresco copy was partly used by Bossi for his version of this celebrated composition: for his picture, made partly from one copy, partly from another, from studying other works of Da Vinci, and from his own feeling of Da Vinci's style,<sup>a</sup> is a restoration or translation, and certainly not a copy: it may have no resemblance to the original beyond size and composition, and to the true lover of art can have little value compared with the old unassuming copy of Oggione. The mere fact of Oggione's copy having been painted for people acquainted with the original, and from the original in its perfect state, by a distinguished scholar of Da Vinci himself, ought to be a sufficient guarantee

<sup>a</sup> Goethe, 'Propylaeen.'

for its fidelity, making of course due allowances for the different capacities of the two men. The Mosaic, which was made from the Cav. Bossi's copy, is now at Vienna, and his first study, the Cartoon, is in the Leuchtenberg Gallery at Munich.

The picture of the Last Supper was the last painting of consequence executed by Leonardo at Milan, which he left in 1499, when Ludovico fled before Charles XII. of France. In 1500 Leonardo was again in Florence, and was well received by the Gonfaloniere Pietro Soderini, who took him into the government employ at a fixed salary. In 1503 Soderini commissioned him to paint one end of the Council Hall of the Palazzo Vecchio. Michelangelo was commissioned to paint the opposite end.

The subject chosen by Da Vinci was the defeat of the Milanese under Niccolo Piccinino, by the Florentines, at Anghiari near Borgo San Sepolcro. Leonardo, however, did not even finish the cartoon of this composition, and jealousy of his young rival, Michelangelo, is said to have been the cause of his leaving it incomplete; but this is hardly probable. Michelangelo's rival cartoon, well known as the Cartoon of Pisa, represented some Pisan soldiers suddenly called to arms while bathing in the Arno; and it is remarkable for the hurry of the soldiers, the vigour of their forms, and the great variety of attitudes in which it displays the human figure. Leonardo's composition represented a battle in

which horse and foot soldiers were wildly engaged : the only portion of it preserved is a group of horsemen contending for a standard, with some fallen foot-soldiers, and is known as the Battle of the Standard : Vasari praises the beauty and anatomical correctness of the horses, and the costume of the soldiers. Michelangelo's cartoon is a much superior work, though neither appears to have been distinguished for any thing more than mere animal vigour ; and from this period the development of mere physical qualities became the predominating characteristic of the Florentine school.

Benvenuto Cellini terms these two cartoons the school of the world, and Vasari speaks much to the same effect. They were, however, both lost or destroyed a few years after they were produced, in a manner never accounted for. Michelangelo's is said to have been cut in pieces. There is an old print by Edelinck, of Leonardo's, but it appears to have been made from a bad drawing. Marcantonio and Agostino Veneziano both engraved parts of Michelangelo's. These cartoons appear to have been first exhibited at Florence in 1506. Michelangelo's was made in a large room in the Dyer's Hospital of St. Onofrio, and was there first seen by the artists of Florence.

After paying two visits to Milan, Leonardo set out for Rome in the train of Giuliano de' Medici, the brother of Leo X., Sept. 24, 1514. He received some commissions from Leo, but the

impatient pontiff seeing a great apparatus, but no signs of commencement, and hearing that Leonardo was about to make some varnishes, exclaimed, "Dear me, this man will never do anything, for he begins to think of the finishing of his work before the commencement." This want of courtesy, and the invitation of Michelangelo to Rome at the same time, are said to have given offence to Da Vinci, and he left Rome in disgust. He joined Francis I. of France, at Pavia, and entered his service for the salary of seven hundred crowns per annum. He went in the beginning of 1516 with Francis to France, and Francis made an attempt at Milan to remove the painting of the Last Supper, with the intention of carrying it to Paris, but its removal was found to be impracticable.

Da Vinci's health, when he arrived in France, was so much enfeebled, that he executed little or nothing there; Francis could not prevail upon him to colour a celebrated cartoon of St. Anne which he had brought with him from Florence, and which is now in the possession of the Royal Academy of Arts, in London. Leonardo died at Cloux, near Amboise, on the 2nd of May, 1519, in his sixty-seventh year. Vasari relates that he died in the arms of Francis I., who happened to be on a visit to him, in his chamber, when he was seized with a paroxysm, which ended in his death. This story may not be true, but though con-

tradicted, it has not exactly been disproved; its incorrectness has rather been inferred than shown.

This great painter had three different styles of execution. He painted at first in the dry manner of his master and of the age. He subsequently appeared with a roundness of form and softness of light and shade, which is almost peculiar to him; this is his Milanese style, and constitutes the chief characteristic of his works, and of the Lombard schools: his influence was greater in Lombardy than in Florence. His third or Florentine style differs little from his second, but it was characterized by a greater freedom of execution and less formality of design: of this period are his cartoons of St. Anne and the Battle of the Standard; and his own portrait in the Florentine Gallery, which is not surpassed for painting by any production of Titian's. The great majority of the works attributed to him are in his second or Milanese style, and probably many of them are productions of some of his numerous Milanese or Lombard scholars, as Bernardino Luini, or Gaudenzio Ferrari, who, though not actually the scholar of Leonardo, was of the school established by him.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>b</sup> Amoretti, 'Memorie Storiche su la Vita, gli Studj, e le Opere di Lionardo da Vinci,' Milano, 1804; Brown, 'The Life of Leonardo da Vinci, with a Critical Account of his Works,' London, 1828; Vasari, 'Vite de' Pittori,' &c.; Lomazzo, 'Trattato della Pittura,' Milano, 1584; Kugler, 'Hand-book of Painting,' translation; and the author's article DA VINCI in the 'Penny Cyclopædia.'

No man borrowed less from others than Leonardo da Vinci; he may almost be termed the inventor of Chiaroscuro, in which and in design he was without a rival in the earlier part of his career. He anticipated both Fra Bartolomeo in tone, and Michelangelo in grandeur of design. Of his numerous treatises, though many are preserved, few have been published: the principal is the 'Trattato della Pittura,' of which there are many editions and many translations.

When Da Vinci returned in 1500 to Florence, FRA BARTOLOMEO DI SAN MARCO, or Baccio della Porta, as he is also called, was the only painter there of extraordinary power, and he was then in his thirty-first year only. Michelangelo was five years younger than Fra Bartolomeo, and had up to that time done nothing in painting, having confined himself almost exclusively to sculpture. Fra Bartolomeo himself also had given up painting for a time. An interval of about six years elapsed from his assumption of the monastic garb to his return to his profession and the world. The immediate cause of his retiring to a convent—he joined the Dominicans at Prato—was the melancholy end of his friend Savonarola. A curious episode in the history of art, caused by the influence of this famous monk, may be here briefly noticed.

Savonarola, after the death of Lorenzo, and the banishment of Piero, de' Medici, in 1494, headed a popular party in favour of a democratic govern-

ment ; and, having met with considerable success, assumed the character of a prophet. Among the objects of his fanatical deprecation were all naked representations, whether in painting or sculpture ; and, indeed, any female representation seems to have been offensive to him. In 1497 he obtained such influence over his followers that it was equalled only by his fanaticism. During the celebration of the Carnival of that year, instead of the usual bonfire in the market-place, Savonarola had a large scaffolding prepared, and upon this he piled many of the most excellent works of Florentine artists, paintings and sculpture, including the busts and portraits of several beautiful Florentine females, and many foreign tapestries, condemned on account of their nakedness ; and they were all consumed amidst the rejoicings of the populace. He repeated the exhibition on a much larger scale in the following year ; and among the works of interest sacrificed on this occasion was an illuminated copy of Petrarch. Not the least remarkable part of this exhibition is that Fra Bartolomeo, Lorenzo di Credi, and other artists, were induced to contribute their own works towards the common destruction.

In May, however, of this year, 1498, Savonarola was condemned to be strangled by the opposite party, with which was Pope Alexander VI. ; and his body, with those of two of his companions, was publicly burnt. From the death of Savona-

rola things began to assume their ordinary course. But this interregnum doubtless had some pernicious effect on the arts, or at least retarded the beneficial results of the academy established by Lorenzo de' Medici in his garden near the church of San Marco, where he had made a good collection of works of ancient sculpture, from which the youths of Florence were permitted to draw. In 1512 the Medici were re-established in Florence.

Fra Bartolomeo imitated, or rather painted in a very similar style to, Leonardo da Vinci: to class him as one of Da Vinci's imitators is perhaps unjust. He is the painter of many admirable works, which combine some of the chief excellences of both Da Vinci and Raphael. He has been termed the true master of Raphael; these two painters formed a close friendship when the latter was in Florence in 1504, and much of the improvement evinced in the works produced by Raphael after this visit is attributed to his intimacy with Fra Bartolomeo. On the other hand, benefits were mutual: Fra Bartolomeo himself greatly improved after this period: his great figure of St. Mark in the Pitti Palace at Florence is one of the finest productions of the Italian schools of painting; it combines with the style of Raphael much of the grandeur of the Prophets and Sibyls painted by Michelangelo on the vault of the Sistine chapel: one of the greatest works also of this master is the Madonna della Misericordia



at Lucca. Bartolomeo died at Florence in 1517, in his forty-eighth year only. He is said to have been the first artist who used a lay-figure (a wooden figure with joints, contrived for the study of draperies).

MARIOTTO ALBERTINELLI was the most distinguished of Fra Bartolomeo's scholars, some of whose works he completed; he died about 1520, aged forty-five.

MICHELANGELO BUONARROTI was born at Castell' Caprese, near Arezzo, in 1474. He was poet, painter, sculptor, and architect. He was the pupil of the goldsmith Domenico del Ghirlandajo, who became likewise a painter of great merit of the *quattrocento* school: he was an excellent colourist. Ghirlandajo's principal works are the frescoes of the choir of the church of Santa Maria Novella, at Florence, illustrating the life of John the Baptist, and the history of the Virgin. He died in 1495, aged only forty-four.

Michelangelo was bound for three years to Ghirlandajo, in 1488, and, contrary to the usual practice, Ghirlandajo paid an annual stipend for the boy's assistance, instead of charging for his instruction; a deviation from custom attributed to Michelangelo's precocious abilities. He is represented by all accounts as having made surprising progress, though up to the time of the production of his celebrated Cartoon of Pisa 1506, exclusively as a sculptor. The celebrated

*Pietà*, or group of the Virgin with the dead Christ on her knees, now in St. Peter's at Rome, was executed by Michelangelo during this early period. Already, in 1505, Michelangelo had been invited to Rome by Pope Julius II. in order to construct his tomb, which was commenced on a grand scale, but owing to many interruptions, chiefly caused by Julius himself, during his lifetime, the monument was never finished. Michelangelo died at Rome in 1564, nearly ninety years of age.

The vast Scriptural series of frescoes of the vault of the Sistine Chapel was executed during his second visit to Rome, by the order of Julius II. These were the first frescoes, and probably the first paintings, executed by Michelangelo; and he endeavoured to escape the responsibility of so great a work, recommending Raphael, then already occupied in the Vatican Stanze, as a more fit person for such a task; but the Pope would not be put off, and Michelangelo was forced to make preparations for the work. Report says that Bramante, who was supposed to be related to Raphael, instigated the Pope to this command, in hopes of showing Michelangelo's inferiority to his already renowned countryman.

Michelangelo was so diffident of his powers in this new department of art, that he summoned some of his old Florentine companions to execute the frescoes from his cartoons; he however was

not satisfied with what was done by these painters, and he accordingly knocked down their work and executed the whole with his own hand; he completed the entire frescoes of the vault in the incredibly short time of twenty months. The Chapel was opened, according to Vasari, on All Saints' day (Nov. 1); he does not give the year. Richardson<sup>c</sup> and Roscoe<sup>d</sup> both give the year 1512, without quoting their authority, but many circumstances tend to corroborate this date. These great works will be more particularly described in the chapter devoted to an account of the Vatican frescoes. In their style Michelangelo adhered to that which characterized his sculpture and the famous Cartoon of Pisa; they are, however, less exact in design than the figures of the cartoon, a deficiency which is more than counterbalanced by their superior grandeur of conception.

The chief characteristics of Michelangelo's works, which revolutionized painting, not only in Florence but throughout Italy, are severe grandeur of design, and an occasional sublimity of invention. His style is, however, injured by an excessive muscular development, and by a too great uniformity of character. But one standard of form is evident for man, woman, and child, of every age and of every degree: his women have been justly termed female men, and his children

<sup>c</sup> 'An Account of Statues,' &c., 1722.

<sup>d</sup> 'Life of Leo X.'

diminutive giants. All his principal and particularly his single figures bear the impress of the sculptor; they are painted statues, and whether single or not, have an abstract isolated character, both from their attitude and expression. His Daniel and Jeremiah or Isaiah want but the substance to make them as monumental and statuesque as his Moses, or his Lorenzo de' Medici. The element of Michelangelo's art, whether in painting or in sculpture, is an abstract impersonation of dignity under the various affections of humanity.

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## CHAPTER XVII.

## THE ROMAN SCHOOL—RAPHAEL.

IN Raphael painting attained its highest dramatic development. The art of Raphael was in its element essentially opposed to that of Michelangelo: if intellect may be said to characterize the works of Michelangelo, passion or the affections may be said to characterize those of Raphael. But the latter is much less a description of the style of Raphael than the former is of that of Michelangelo. The works of Raphael from the very nature of their characteristics could not have that unity or singleness of character which belongs to those of Michelangelo. Intellect, in whatever shape it may appear, must have a unity, or harmony with itself, in all its evidences: the affections, on the other hand, can be evinced only by variety of character, action, and expression. If, therefore, equal formative and imitative powers are bestowed upon the plastic development of these two spheres of vitality, the latter, as a field of art, is almost infinite, while the former is narrow in comparison, and can command only a proportionate

share of our sympathies. Further, in the works of Raphael we perceive as it were a marriage of the intellect with the affections; while the abstract dignity of Michelangelo too often inspires but one sentiment,—that of awe.

Michelangelo and Raphael, however, were both eminently Christian painters; and the lofty quality of their works is due to high development of Christian character. The religion of the Greeks could probably never have produced such artists. Essentials of character so much preponderate in the works of both, that it appears almost derogatory to their unrivalled productions to speak of the mere external qualities of art, as form, colour, light and shade, &c.; yet it is almost exclusively in such qualities that their works can be compared with those of other masters. Not that these external qualities are to be in the slightest degree depreciated; on the contrary, without an adequate development of the external there can be no just evidence of the internal; but they must be subordinate. And every artist knows that this relative position could never be acquired by any neglect of the material representation of his subject, but that it depends wholly upon his command over these essential *means* of art.

RAPHAEL, or Raffaello Sanzio, as Vasari and the modern Italians write his name, was born at Urbino, in the Contrada del Monte, on April 6, 1483. His first instructor was his father Giovanni

Santi, who was a good painter for his time,<sup>a</sup> though much inferior to Pietro Perugino, with whom Raphael was placed by his uncles Simone Ciarla and Bartolomeo Santi, as soon as his extraordinary abilities were decidedly developed. Raphael lost his mother when he was only eight years old; and his father died in 1494, before he had attained the age of twelve. It was probably shortly after his father's death that he was placed by his uncles with Pietro Perugino. After assisting and visiting various places with his master Perugino, Raphael at length, in 1504, visited Florence, whither he carried a letter of introduction to the Gonfaloniere Soderini, from Johanna, the sister of the reigning duke of Urbino. In 1508, he had already attained sufficient celebrity to justify Bramante in recommending him to Pope Julius II., who invited him in that year to Rome.

It is not known how long Raphael remained in Florence after his visit in Oct. 1504; but, having once become acquainted with the great school of that city, he was not likely to have been satisfied with a mere visit; and from an existing letter we find that he was there before his settling finally in Rome in 1508. He is supposed to have left Florence in the spring of 1505, when he went to Perugia to execute some works there, and to have returned to Florence in the autumn of the same year.

<sup>a</sup> Pungileoni, 'Elogio Storico di Giovanni Santi, Pittore e poeta, padre del gran Raffaello da Urbino.' Urb. 1622.

So that the whole of 1506 and 1507 were spent in Florence, except a short interval passed in 1506 at Bologna and Urbino; in the first of which places he became personally acquainted with Francia.<sup>b</sup>

In 1506 he returned from Urbino, and arrived for a third time at Florence, at the time that Michelangelo exhibited his cartoon of Pisa. His



Entombment of Christ.—By Raphael.

first work after this visit was the celebrated Entombment of Christ, now in the Borghese Gallery; also the marriage of the Virgin (painted in 1504), St. Catherine (in the National Gallery), La Belle

<sup>b</sup> Passavant, 'Rafael von Urbino und sein Vater Giovanni Santi,' Leipzig, 1839.



Jardinière, the Madonna del Baldachino, and indeed the majority of his best easel pictures, date their origin from this period. But several of his Holy Families and many of his portraits belong to an earlier time. It appears therefore, from these repeated returns to Florence, that Raphael, from the time of his first acquaintance with it, as might be expected, made that city his headquarters until he was invited to Rome. He arrived at Rome about the middle of the year 1508, from which time to 1513 he was almost constantly employed by Julius II.; and from 1513 until his death on Good Friday, April 6, 1520,<sup>c</sup> he was equally as much occupied by the successor of Julius, Leo X.

<sup>c</sup> Raphael lived exactly 37 years: this is the substance of the following part of the inscription on his tomb in the Pantheon written by Cardinal Bembo—

Vixit An. XXXVII. Integer Integros.  
 Quo die Natus est, eo esse Desiit  
 VIII. Id. Aprilis MDXX.

He died on the day on which he was born, April 6, which in 1520 was Good Friday, and this circumstance appears to have led to a vulgar error that he was born on Good Friday and died on Good Friday, which is repeated by Vasari, apparently overlooking the fact of Good Friday being a moveable feast. The mistake is promulgated by Passavant and other recent writers. Schorn suggests an error in the inscription; but it does not appear to have occurred to him that the error may be in the assertion of Vasari. Good Friday happened in the year 1483 on the 26th or 28th of March. See a communication on this subject from Mr. J. Dennistoun to the Art-Union Journal, in the number for January, 1842

The works of Raphael show three distinct styles, corresponding with three periods of his life. The works executed up to his visit to Florence in 1504 constitute the first or his Perugino manner; those done after his acquaintance with the Florentine school up to the painting of the Theology, or the Dispute on the Sacrament, in the chamber Della Segnatura in the Vatican, finished about 1509, or at latest in the following year, constitute his second or Florentine style; all later works belong to his third style, or that which particularly characterizes him, and which constitutes the Roman school in its highest development.

Though the pictures painted by Raphael in his second period belong to the best examples of painting in perhaps its greatest age, it is in the works of the last ten years of his life that he has established his claim to the title of the greatest of painters. It is in these works that Raphael has exhibited a nearer approximation to perfection than any other painter; or rather, in these works he has elevated the standard of perfection, which must always depend upon existing examples, and probably every new excellence must remove it still more remote from that which has been actually attained, as probably nothing can be presented to us so excellent as not to suggest a still higher excellence. There must be, however, a degree in imitative formative art, which would exhibit so effective a combination of the powers of invention with those of represent-

ation as to constitute perfection in painting; and it is not more than justice to Raphael to assert that he has on the whole approached this degree more nearly than any other painter.

In all his works the treatment is subordinate to the conception. He has scarcely been approached in propriety of invention, composition, or expression, and is almost without an equal in design; for moral force in allegory and history, unrivalled; for fidelity in portrait, unsurpassed; and in sublimity and grandeur inferior only to Michelangelo, whose Prophets and Sibyls in the Sistine Chapel are in these respects indisputably the triumphs of modern art.

In his forms Raphael was neither so ideal, nor in one sense so perfect, as the antique; but he is nearly equally grand, and more natural. Such forms as the Apollo or the Mercury would be incompatible with his style; they are supposed to represent beings beyond the common emotions of mankind. He has, however, perhaps never approached the grandeur of design of the Torso of Apollonius, nor in beauty and elegance ever equalled the Antinous. His colouring and light and shade are in perfect accordance with the character of his works. Colour was to Raphael always a *means*, and never an *end*, as it is with the painters of some schools; and indeed, with some of the Venetian painters it appears to have been the paramount *end* of their efforts. In all compositions

where colouring predominates it engrosses the attention, and injures the impression that any other higher excellence which the work may possess might otherwise convey. Colour admits of no partition or division of attention; it is either wholly subordinate to the higher aims of the picture or is principal. When it is subordinate, it is in its place; and this is eminently the case with the works of Raphael, and in which no person capable of appreciating higher aims in art can feel any deficiency of colouring. This is equally true of the frescoes of Michelangelo on the vault of the Sistine Chapel.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

THE FRESCOES OF RAPHAEL AND MICHELANGELO  
IN THE VATICAN : FROM 1508 TO 1541.

THE frescoes painted by these two great masters in the Papal palace on the Vatican at Rome, are the greatest accomplishments of modern art. Those by Raphael are painted in the apartments which were formerly inhabited by the Popes, but which are now known as the Stanze di Raffaello ; those by Michelangelo are principally in the Sistine Chapel, on the ceiling and upon the altar-wall. The dates of the execution of these respective works are not exactly known, but they can be very nearly approximated.

Some of the works of Raphael in the Camera della Segnatura preceded those of Michelangelo on the vault of the Capella Sistina by one or two years ; for he was certainly engaged on those works before Michelangelo received any commands to paint the ceiling of the chapel ; and Michelangelo was still engaged in the chapel twenty-one years after the death of Raphael : the Last Judgment was not completed until 1541. Raphael arrived at Rome by invitation of Julius II. in the middle of the year 1508, when he was twenty-five years of

age; but it is not probable that he commenced any of the frescoes this year.

The stanze of Raphael<sup>a</sup> are four rooms on the third floor of that part of the Vatican palace which was rebuilt by Nicholas V. and Sixtus IV. They had already been decorated with frescoes before the time of Raphael by Piero della Francesca, Bramantino da Milano, Bartolomeo della Gatta, Luca Signorelli, Pietro Perugino, and Il Sodoma. But all the works of these painters were ordered by Julius to be knocked down to make room for the works of Raphael. Those of Perugino, however, and some of Il Sodoma's,<sup>b</sup> were saved by Raphael: the rest were destroyed.

The following is the order of the rooms on entering from the corridors, the celebrated 'Loggie' of Raphael. The first on entering is the Sala del Costantino, or Hall of Constantine; the second,

<sup>a</sup> Bellori, 'Descrizione delle Immagini depinte da Raffaello da Urbino, nel Palazzo Vaticano, &c. ;' Richardson, 'An Account of the Statues, Bas-reliefs, Drawings, and Pictures in Italy, &c.' London, 1722; Ramdohr, 'Ueber Mahlerei und Bildhauerarbeit in Rom,' Leipzig, 1787; Speth, 'Kunst in Italien,' Munich, 1821; Montagnani, 'Esposizione descrittiva delle pitture di Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino nelle Stanze Vaticane, &c.,' 1828; 'Beschreibung der Stadt Rom' von Ernst Platner, Carl Bunsen, &c., 1832, vol.ii. ; Passavant, 'Rafael von Urbino,' 1839; Kugler, 'Handbook of Painting.' Richardson's very original account is well worth reading.

<sup>b</sup> Gianantonio Razzi, commonly called Sodoma, is the Caposcuola of the school of Siena: he died at an advanced age in 1554.

the Camera or Stanza della Segnatura (of the signature), or delle Scienze, from the nature of the frescoes in it; the third, the Stanza d'Eliodoro (of Heliodorus); and the fourth and last, the Stanza dell' Incendio (of the fire).

The second, or the Stanza della Segnatura, was the first painted; and all the frescoes of this apartment were finished in 1511, having occupied Raphael about three years, being accordingly all completed about one year before Michelangelo finished the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, on which, as already stated, he was occupied with the frescoes alone twenty months,<sup>c</sup> being engaged on them up to Nov. 1, 1512.

This date is of considerable importance, as Raphael is said to have been indebted for the general superiority of his works to these frescoes by Michelangelo.<sup>d</sup> This assumption has been carried by no one to a greater length than by Sir Joshua Reynolds, who says, in his Fifteenth discourse, that "The artists of that age, even Raffaele himself, seemed to be going on very contentedly in the dry manner of Pietro Perugino; and, if Michelangelo had never appeared, the art might still have continued in the same style." The utter groundlessness of

<sup>c</sup> Vasari, 'Vita di Michelangiolo.' Some accounts say twenty-two months.

<sup>d</sup> The scaffolding of Michelangelo was not removed by Christmas-day, 1512, which is seen from the 'Diary of Paris de Grassis,' Pungileoni, p. 131; Passavant, 'Rafael von Urbino,' i. 167.

this assertion is evident from what is contained in the immediately preceding chapters ; it is not only unjust to Raphael, but to Leonardo da Vinci and Fra Bartolomeo also. Even if it may be said that Raphael had the opportunity of acquiring a new view of art from the cartoon of Pisa, the same may be said with regard to the cartoon of Leonardo da Vinci, who certainly did not take his style from Michelangelo. Other artists also besides Raphael had the same opportunities, and they appear to have made a very different use of them.

Whatever benefit, however, Raphael derived from the Cartoon of Pisa, must have been shown in the works which he executed immediately afterwards, as the famous Entombment, in the Borghese Gallery. His aggrandizement of manner in the Stanza della Segnatura, more particularly in the School of Athens, in which the characteristics of his third style are at least essentially if not completely developed, proceeded most certainly from some other causes than the mere acquaintance with this Cartoon of Pisa ; from his own additional experience, and also from the study of the excellent works of ancient sculpture, the best of which were then already displayed at Rome, and to which, in common with Michelangelo, he was doubtless much indebted.

The first frescoes executed in the Stanza della Segnatura appear to have been the eight pictures of the ceiling, representing personifications and illustrations of the subjects painted on the walls beneath.



The personifications are Theology, Poetry, Philosophy, and Justice. The Fall of Man is given as the illustration of Theology; the defeat of Marsyas, as that of Poetry; a female figure contemplating the globe with some allegorical accessories is the illustration of Philosophy; and the Judgment of Solomon illustrates Justice. They are all painted on gold grounds, and are in Raphael's second manner. The first executed of the great wall pictures, which are semicircular at the top, in consequence of the vaulted ceiling, was the THEOLOGY, or, as it is sometimes erroneously called, the Dispute on the Sacrament. It measures about fifteen feet in height by twenty-five in width, being of the same size as the other larger frescoes of the three rooms which were painted during Raphael's lifetime. This great picture is in two principal parts: the lower portion represents a council or assembly of the dignitaries of the church on earth; and above in the clouds is a heavenly synod of saints and angels with the three persons of the Trinity, according to the Roman church, in the centre. God the Father is represented above with his right hand in the attitude of benediction, and holding in his left the world; Christ is immediately beneath, bearing the marks of his passion, and surrounded by a glory of angels; below him the Holy Ghost appears in the form of a dove. This picture also is in Raphael's second manner, but it contains some of the finest and most expressive heads in modern art, and many

of the draperies are cast with much grandeur of effect; the drawing also in the majority of the figures is unobjectionable: the composition is formal and strictly symmetrical, and contains many conventionalisms of the previous age of art.

The second great work of this chamber was the **POETRY**, which is an assembly of the great Greek, Roman, and Italian poets of all ages up to that time on Mount Parnassus, with Apollo and the Muses in the centre. This picture is also symmetrically arranged, but the individual figures are treated with more freedom than those of the Theology; and Raphael has in all possible cases adhered to the portraits, traditional or authentic, of the respective poets.\*

The third great work of this chamber was the **PHILOSOPHY**, or the School of Athens; it is on the wall opposite the picture of Theology. The background of this picture, which is a rich architectural scene, is supposed to be from a design by Bramante.

The disposition of the numerous groups is also in this piece symmetrical in the general composition of the masses; but in the arrangement of the individual figures, Raphael has left the conventionalities and formalities of his contemporaries

\* Apollo is in this picture represented, with doubtless questionable propriety, playing the fiddle, and this instrument is said to have been chosen out of compliment to Giacomo Sansecolo, a very distinguished violinist of that day.

completely behind him, and in his proportions and the style of design he has displayed a perfect familiarity with the works of ancient art. There is no obvious cause, beyond Raphael's enlarged experience and the example of the works of ancient art, to account for his aggrandizement of style in this great work. The two principal figures in the centre of the composition are Plato and Aristotle, supposed to be disputing on the merits of their respective systems. Plato, a majestic and venerable figure, is represented with his arm raised and pointing upwards, an attitude significative of his own spiritual doctrine: Aristotle, on the other hand, in the vigour of age, is pointing to the earth, thereby implying that all true philosophy must be derived from investigation and experience.

The fourth wall in this apartment is devoted to the representation of JURISPRUDENCE, which is illustrated (on account of the window which occupies the middle of the wall) in three distinct compositions. In the centre above are three female figures, personifications of Prudence, Fortitude, and Temperance. At the sides are two representations, of Ecclesiastical and Civil Law—Gregory XI. delivering the Decretals to a consistorial advocate, and the Emperor Justinian delivering the Pandects to Tribonianus. The figures of these compositions are eminently natural and powerful representations.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>f</sup> See the indifferent prints of these frescoes by Volpato.

While Raphael was engaged on the frescoes of the second chamber painted by him, the Stanza d'Eliodoro, the Sistine chapel, with the wonderful creations of Michelangelo, was thrown open to the public gaze and admiration; and as it is one of the objects of this chapter to give a chronological view of the respective labours of these two great masters in the Vatican, the frescoes of the chapel may be here briefly described before proceeding with the account of the remaining works of Raphael.

The Cappella Sistina forms part of the same pile of building which contains the Stanze of Raphael, and was built by Baccio Pintelli, for Sixtus IV. in 1473, whence its name of Sistine. It is of an oblong shape, and is covered by a vaulted roof; it measures about 133 feet in length, 43 in width, and is 58 feet high.<sup>g</sup> The Sistine Chapel is reserved for the especial use of the Popes: the church ceremonies of the first Sunday in Advent and of the Holy Week are performed in it. The scrutiny also of the votes for the Popedom takes place in this chapel, when the Conclave is held in the Vatican. The Popes, however, now reside the greater part of their time in the Palazzo Quirinale on Monte Cavallo.

It is not known when Michelangelo commenced his cartoons for the ceiling of this chapel; but if

<sup>g</sup> There are a ground-plan and sections of this Chapel, in the Appendix No. 14 to the Third Report of the Commissioners on the Fine Arts.

twenty months are deducted from Nov. 1, 1512, when the chapel was opened after their completion, it will give the beginning of the spring of 1511 as the latest date at which he can have commenced the frescoes themselves; but Vasari speaks of an interval in the painting in consequence of his refusing to admit the Pope to see the work while in progress; so that the first portion may have been done in 1510. His cartoons were prepared perhaps in 1509. This is not allowing too much time for such works, notwithstanding the short time occupied on the frescoes themselves.

The frescoes represent the Creation of Man, his Fall, and the early History of the World, with reference to man's final redemption and salvation. The great argument of the cycles of Scriptural representations was the Fall and the Redemption: to the latter every subject had reference, more or less directly; but some types in the Old Testament were supposed to have reference to the Virgin. The middle or flat part of the ceiling is divided into nine compartments, the centre of which contains the Creation of Eve; the Creation of Adam, and the Temptation, Fall, and Expulsion from Paradise, in one composition, are in the two nearest compartments to it. The Creation of Eve is always made prominent in the cycles of Scriptural types, in allusion to the Messiah being born of the woman alone.<sup>5</sup> The remaining six compartments

<sup>5</sup> See Mr. Eastlake's Notes on these frescoes in the trans-

contain the following representations; the Separation of Light from Darkness; the Gathering of the Waters; the Creation of the Sun and Moon; the Deluge; the Thanksgiving of Noah; and the Drunkenness of Noah. At the four angles of the ceiling are—David beheading Goliath; Judith with the head of Holofernes; the Punishment of Haman; and the Brazen Serpent. In the soffits of the window recesses, and on the wall above the windows, of which there are six on each side, are introduced many figures and groups illustrating the genealogy of Christ. Between these recesses on the triangular vaulted portions of the roof are painted, in a colossal size, the Prophets and Sibyls so often spoken of in the history of modern art. There are twelve in all, five on each side, and one on each end between the compositions of the four angles already mentioned.

Over the altar end is Jonah; on the opposite end Zachariah: on the sides the Prophets and Sibyls are arranged alternately—they are Jeremiah, Persica, Ezechiel, Erythraea, Joel, Delphica, Isaiah, Cumaea, Daniel, and Libyca.<sup>h</sup>

lation of Kugler's 'Hand-book of Painting; Italy,' where there is an outline engraving of the ceiling.

<sup>h</sup> The following note by Mr. Eastlake (Kugler's 'Hand-book of Painting, Italy,' p. 203) will explain how the Sibyls came to be introduced into a Christian temple:—"The Sibyls are alluded to by Greek, Roman, and Jewish writers, and by most of the Christian fathers. The latter, on the authority of Varro, enumerate ten of these prophetesses (see Lactantius

We may now return to Raphael and the Stanze of the Vatican, where, according to the date of these works, as explained, he was engaged in the chamber of the Heliodorus. Vasari says that Raphael immediately changed his style, after he saw the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel; and refers as a proof to the Prophets and Sibyls of the Chigi Chapel in the church of Santa Maria della Pace; and also alludes to Raphael's destruction of the first figure of the prophet Isaiah which he painted in the church of Sant' Agostino. These works, however, do not show any improvement on the 'School of Athens,' or other frescoes in the Stanza della Segnatura; they are certainly different, but are not in

'De Falsâ Religione,' i. 6). The authority of the Sibylline writings with the Pagans soon suggested the pious fraud of interpolating them; the direct allusions to the Messiah which they contain are supposed to have been inserted in the second century (see Blondell, 'Des Sibylles Célèbres'). But, notwithstanding the occasional expression of some suspicion as to their authenticity, these spurious predictions continued to be held in veneration not only during the middle ages, but even to a comparatively modern date, and the Sibyls were represented in connexion with Scripture subjects before and after Michelangelo's time by various painters. The circumstance of their appearing in works of art as equal in rank with the prophets may have arisen from the manner in which St. Augustine ('De Civit. Dei,' xviii. 47) speaks of the Erythraean Sibyls' testimony, immediately before he adverts to that of the prophets of the Old Testament. The fullest of the numerous dissertations on the Sibyls is, perhaps, that of Clasen, 'De Oraculis Gentilium,' Helmstadt, 1673.

any respect superior, and they are generally acknowledged to be among the inferior productions of Raphael; as they are also among the very few works in which he has shown any disposition to imitate the peculiar character of Michelangelo's style of design. It is here worthy of note that the frescoes of the Pace were painted in the pontificate of Leo X., and were not finished until 1514.<sup>1</sup> The Isaiah was painted in 1512.

The frescoes of the Stanza d' Eliodoro are,—on the vaulted ceiling, the Promise of God of a numerous posterity to Abraham; the Sacrifice of Isaac; Jacob's Dream; and Moses before God in the Burning Bush; and on the walls, the **EXPULSION OF HELIODORUS FROM THE TEMPLE** of Jerusalem. The subject of this grand composition is from the Second Book of Maccabees: "For there appeared to them a horse with a terrible rider upon him, adorned with a very rich covering: and he ran fiercely and struck Heliodorus with his fore-feet; and he that sat upon him seemed to have armour of gold. Moreover, there appeared two other young men beautiful and strong, bright and glorious, and in comely apparel: who stood by him on either side, and scourged him without ceasing with many stripes" (ch. ii. ver. 25 and 26).

The subject is said to have been chosen to commemorate the deliverance of the States of the Church from foreign enemies through Julius II., in whose

Passavant, 'Rafael von Urbino,' ii. 167.



pontificate it was painted: Julius is himself introduced into the Temple as a witness of the scene. This picture was probably completed before the opening of the Cappella Sistina. Though not the greatest, it is the grandest of all Raphael's works in design; it is also unsurpassed in the vigour and beauty of the conception, and has more the character of what it represents, an angelic vision, than of the work of human hands.

The next picture of this apartment is the **MASS OF BOLSENA**, also painted in 1512, representing a miracle demonstrating the truth of the doctrine of transubstantiation to a doubting priest, while consecrating the Host in the church of Santa Christina at Bolsena, in the year 1263: the wafer bled. This event was the origin of the celebration of the procession of Corpus Christi.

On the third wall, opposite to the Heliodorus, is the fresco known as the **ATTILA**. It represents St. Leo turning Attila from his design of plundering Rome: above the Pope are seen visions of the Apostles Peter and Paul. This composition is supposed to have reference to the expulsion of the French from Italy by Leo X. in 1513.

The fourth picture in this room is the **DELIVERY OF ST. PETER OUT OF PRISON**; a Night Scene, with several lights admirably contrived;<sup>k</sup> it is likewise supposed to have an allusion to a passage in

<sup>k</sup> See the remarks of the young Richardson on this composition.

the Life of Leo, who himself escaped from his captivity after the battle of Ravenna, the year previous to his elevation to the Popedom; he was elected in February, 1513.

All the paintings of this chamber were finished in 1514; and for design, colouring, and execution, they are the best of all Raphael's frescoes. Doubtless much of their superiority of style may be owing to the grand works of Michelangelo on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel; but an equal portion must likewise be attributed to the gradual and more complete development of Raphael's own powers in the natural course of events.

From the painting of this chamber the Vatican frescoes went on slowly, though Raphael now employed many scholars; but he had so many other commissions from Leo, and from others of his Roman patrons, that it was impossible for him to give that attention to these works which their importance and his own reputation demanded.

The third chamber, the Stanza dell' Incendio, was intrusted much, if not wholly, to Raphael's scholars. It contains representations of events from the lives of Leo III. and IV., with reference to Leo X. They are the **INCENDIO DEL BORGO**, from which the apartment takes its name: the conflagration was miraculously arrested by Leo IV. The **OATH OF LEO III.**, by which he purified himself from the charges brought against him by his enemies, before Charlemagne; the **CORONATION OF CHARLE-**

MAGNE BY LEO III. ; and the VICTORY OVER THE SARACENS AT OSTIA, in the time of Leo IV.

These paintings were all finished by 1517. Their execution is comparatively careless, but they have much suffered from neglect and restorations. The greater part of their execution is attributed to the scholars of Raphael. In the *Incendio del Borgo* there is much appearance of a striving after mere material forms, and in the corrupt taste for anatomical display, which began to show itself about this time, as one of the prejudicial consequences of an imitation of Michelangelo's style.

The works of the *Sala di Costantino* were painted after the death of Raphael, by Giulio Romano, Francesco Penni, and other scholars of Raphael, under Giulio's direction. The principal subjects are from the life of Constantine, in connexion with the establishment of the Christian church. The most celebrated of the series is the great *BATTLE OF CONSTANTINE AND MAXENTIUS* at the *Ponte Molle* near Rome. The other subjects are the *APPEARANCE OF THE CROSS*; the *BAPTISM OF CONSTANTINE*; and the *PRESENTATION OF ROME TO THE POPE*.

Raphael intended to paint these compositions in oil, and two allegorical figures of Justice and Bignity are executed in oil-colours; but Giulio Romano and Penni continued the works after his death in fresco. They were painted in 1523, in the pontificate of Clement VII.

During the progress of the above works Raphael directed also the painting of the Loggie of the Vatican, or the corridors and galleries by which the Stanze are approached. The compositions of the Loggie are taken from the Old Testament; they are very numerous, and are commonly spoken of in the aggregate as “Raphael’s Bible.” The painters of these designs, which are on a small scale, were Giulio Romano, Francesco Penni, Raffaellino del Colle, Perino del Vaga, and Pellegrino da Modena.

The last of the great frescoes of the Vatican was the Last Judgment, painted by Michelangelo for Popes Clement VII. and Paul III., on the altar-wall of the Sistine Chapel. It was commenced in 1533, and was completed in 1541: its dimensions are 47 feet in height by 43 wide. Though a vast composition, and executed with unrivalled power and freedom, it is more conspicuous for the qualities which constitute the *manner* of Michelangelo, than for the sublimity and grandeur of the paintings of the ceiling, of which there are little if any traces in the Last Judgment. The opinions concerning it are many, and various; by some it is raised above all other works of painting; while by others it is condemned as wholly unworthy of its great subject. Flaxman, in comparing it with ancient compositions, and a similar work of a later age, the Fallen Angels of Rubens, says<sup>1</sup>—“In the great compositions of

In his Lecture on Composition.

modern times, the Last Judgment of Michelangelo, and the Fall of the Angels by Rubens, there are multitudes, legions in comparison with the separate figures and single groups in the most considerable of the ancient works. The beholder is thunder-struck by angels falling in groups and forked masses, amalgamating in the vivid flashes, and darkening in the sulphurous smoke, in the various dismay, horror, and torpor, of the deadened intellect in their lost condition. In this picture, the undulation of figures and groups, the entwining of limbs, the breadth and quantities of light and shade, may be studied by the painter and sculptor with equal advantage.<sup>m</sup>

“ The Last Judgment by Michelangelo is, however, a more consummate work, and the parent from which Rubens’s Fall of the Angels has derived its being. If the Judgment is inferior to the Falling Angels in general effect—in the breadth of light and shade—the strength of approaching parts—and the gradual distance of those which retreat, by diffusion of middle tint and the vivid variegations of reflex, it is superior in the sublimity and extent of character and action—in the gradations of sentiment and passion, from exalted beatitude to the abyss of hopeless destruction—in the kinds and species of these degrees,—in relations to the theological and cardinal virtues, opposed to the seven deadly sins—

<sup>m</sup> This picture is in the Pinacothek at Munich; the figures are on a small scale.

in uncommon, original, distinct, and fit appropriation in the groups or separate figures. The sentiment of particular figures and groups is in the whole, and all the parts, penetrating, sympathetic, and true.

“ Despair plunges headlong downwards ; the fall of the contentious is aided by strife and blows ; the malignant, drawn downwards by the fiends, is tormented in his way by the biting serpent ; for some there is a terrific contest between angels and infernals.

“ Among the happy, brotherly love is evident in three figures which shoot upwards together, whose faces, seen a little beyond each other, appear to be reflections of the same self : several rise to the heavenly region by the attractions of purity, piety, and charity.

“ In this stupendous work, in addition to the genius of the mighty master, the mechanical powers and movements of the figure, its anatomical energies and forms, are shown by such perspective of the most difficult positions, as surpass any examples left by the ancients on a flat surface or in low relief, and are only to be equalled in kind, but not in the proportion of complication, in the front and diagonal views of the Laocoon, and all the views of the Boxers, which are both entire groups.”<sup>n</sup>

<sup>n</sup> All these great frescoes have been much neglected, and suffered to fall into a very decayed and dirty state. The Last Judgment is now so much obscured that it is only partially

It was the intention of Michelangelo to paint the Fall of Lucifer on the wall opposite to the Last Judgment. The cartoons of this design, or some of them, were actually made; and a fresco was painted from them by one of his scholars in the church of the Trinità de' Monti, but it has long since perished.

If Michelangelo had executed this work, the decorations of the Sistine Chapel would have illustrated the whole cycle of Biblical types and antitypes connected with the creation and regeneration of man. The Fall of Lucifer would have been the commencement of this cycle. Then would follow the paint-

visible, and these parts are not distinct. It is only possible to form an adequate idea of it at present from copies and prints, which are numerous. There is a beautiful small copy in the Gallery of Naples, by Marcello Venusti, a distinguished scholar of Michelangelo's. The frescoes of the Stanze were only saved from imminent ruin by Carlo Maratti, who cleaned and restored them in 1702 and 1703, in the pontificate of Clement XI.; and from that time they have been the objects of the careful attention of the Roman government. The chamber which appears to have suffered most from neglect and injudicious restoration is that of the Incendio del Borgo. The Prophets and Sibyls on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel are still in a good state of preservation. The etchings of these great works by Piroli convey an adequate idea of their character. There is a large copy of the Last Judgment at Paris, which was recently made for Louis-Philippe, by the late French painter Sigalon; it is, or is to be, in the Chapel of the Académie des Beaux Arts. There are also several large copies from the paintings of the Stanze, in the Louvre at Paris.

ings of the ceiling, illustrating the creation and the fall of man ; with which are connected the Prophets and Sibyls, the Jewish subjects, and the genealogy of Christ, in commemoration of the promised redemption. Below these again, on the walls of the chapel, in the tapestries from the Cartoons of Raphael and other works, the advent of the Redeemer is represented, and the actual regeneration of man is commenced. The whole series is closed by the final scene of the Judgment, and the reconciliation of God with man.° Such is the high import of the vast series of pictorial decorations in the chapel of the Popes at Rome.

° See an illustrative note on the subjects of these paintings, by Mr. Eastlake in the 'Hand-book of Painting' before referred to, Italy, p. 216.

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## CHAPTER XIX.

## THE CARTOONS OF RAPHAEL.

ALLUSION was made in the last chapter to Raphael's Cartoons, or rather the situations of the tapestries worked from them, in the Sistine Chapel. These great works, the noblest and most characteristic of Raphael's productions, require a particular notice, for it is only in them that his style is completely developed.

These celebrated compositions, seven of which are now at Hampton Court, were apparently originally ten in number, and they were executed by Raphael for Leo X. in the years 1515 and 1516, as patterns for tapestries which were hung on the lower part of the walls of the Cappella Sistina, in that part called the Presbyterium, which is reserved for the use of the Cardinals; it is at the altar end, and comprises the larger portion of the chapel, being separated from the rest by a balustrade. Raphael received for these ten cartoons 434 ducats, or about 150*l.* sterling, which is less than half the price he was paid for a single picture of the large frescoes of the Stanze, for each of which he received 1200 scudi d'oro, or about 400*l.* This last sum appears an enormous amount, when compared

with the remuneration which, according to Vasari, Michelangelo received for the paintings of the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, namely, 3000 scudi, or about 600*l.* This was, however, probably a previously stipulated sum, and Michelangelo doubtless produced a more extensive series of illustrations than the Pope expected, or than he himself had anticipated.<sup>a</sup>

Before Michelangelo painted the Last Judgment on the altar-wall, two horizontal series of paintings went round the chapel, below the windows; the upper was a series from the Old and New Testaments illustrating the acts of Moses and of Christ; the second or lower series were mere representations of hangings, with the arms of Sixtus IV. painted in the centre. It was as a substitute for these painted hangings in the portion of the chapel appropriated to the Cardinals that Leo X. ordered the tapestries from the designs of Raphael. The order of the tapestries, as given below, is conjectured by the Chevalier Bunsen, in the 'Description of Rome,'<sup>b</sup> and has every appearance of being accurate. After the completion of the fresco of the Last Judgment, the arrangement was of course altered.

The subject of these designs is the history of the

<sup>a</sup> Vasari, 'Vita di Michelangiolo.' The 15,000 ducats mentioned in the 'Beschreibung der Stadt Rom,' vol. ii. pt. 2, p. 259, is evidently a mistake or misprint for 1500 ducats.

<sup>b</sup> Platner and Bunsen, 'Beschreibung der Stadt Rom,' vol. ii. pt. 2. p. 408.

Apostles ; and five are from the life of St. Paul alone. They are—1. The Miraculous Draught of Fishes, or the Calling of Peter ; 2. Christ's Charge to Peter ; 3. The Stoning of St. Stephen ; 4. The Healing of the Lame Man at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple ; 5. The Death of Ananias ; 6. The Conversion of St. Paul ; 7. Elymas the Sorcerer struck blind ; 8. Paul and Barnabas at Lystra ; 9. Paul preaching at Athens ; and, 10. Paul in Prison at Philippi during the Earthquake. Passavant<sup>e</sup> mentions an eleventh tapestry, of the Coronation of the Virgin, which decorated the altar of the chapel, but it is now lost. The ten subjects mentioned were arranged five on each side of the altar—two on the altar-wall, and four on each side. The walls are divided by painted pilasters into compartments, to which the tapestries are proportioned in size. One space, however, on each side is much smaller than the rest, owing to the Papal chair on the right hand of the altar and the gallery of the choristers on the left ; and among the ten tapestries are two smaller ones which suit these smaller spaces—the Stoning of St. Stephen, and Paul in Prison at Philippi,—two of which the cartoons are lost. The cartoon of the Conversion of St. Paul is likewise lost. The tapestries are supposed to have been placed in the chapel in the order in which they are numbered, commencing at the right hand of the altar with No. 1, and on the left side

with No. 6; the series from the life of St. Paul being opposite to the Papal chair. The side walls remain as they were originally painted; and on all great festivals of the Church the painted hangings used formerly to be covered by these tapestries from Raphael's designs. They are, however, now no longer used for church purposes, but are preserved, with a later series, in a corridor of the museum of the Vatican which was built for them by Leo XII.; they were first placed in the museum by Pius VII., in 1814, in the apartments of Pius V. They were carried off from Rome during the French occupation after the Revolution, to be destroyed for the sake of the gold that is worked in them: they were, however, repurchased and restored to Rome in 1808. They had been previously carried off in the year 1527, with other plunder, by the soldiers of Charles V.; but were returned by the Constable Montmorency to Paul III. in 1553.

The later series of tapestries alluded to, which is preserved with the others in the Vatican, consists of twelve designs from the Life of Christ; they are on a larger scale than the others, with which they have no connexion. They are supposed, from their style and their mannered drawing, to have been executed from cartoons made by Flemish masters from small sketches by Raphael; they are much too bad in their style of design to have been executed from cartoons by Raphael himself. The

fragment of the Slaughter of the Innocents in the National Gallery is a portion of a cartoon of one of these tapestries.

These two sets of tapestries are distinguished as those of the old and new school,—Arazzi della scuola nuova, and Arazzi della scuola vecchia; those executed for the Sistine Chapel being of the old school. The new school appears to signify that mannered, cumbrous style of design which prevailed at Rome shortly after the death of Raphael, and during the lifetime of Michelangelo, whose admirers and imitators were the originators of this corrupt taste.

In considering the care that has been taken of these tapestries, many are struck with surprise at the unaccountable neglect with which the original designs were treated. They appear never to have been inquired for after the tapestries were completed; their preservation seems to be due to Rubens, who mentioned them to Charles I., and persuaded him to purchase them. If, however, the cost of a work of art is a criterion of its value, the Roman authorities were not guilty of such indifference as might otherwise appear. The cost of the tapestries is given variously, but the lowest, and probably the correct estimate, is that given by Fea,<sup>d</sup> who states that they cost Leo X. 34,000 scudi, about 7000*l*.

<sup>d</sup> 'Notizie intorno di Raphaele,' &c., p. 92: Platner, 'Beschreibung der Stadt Rom,' ii. 2, p. 393.

sterling,—an immense sum compared with the 150*l.* paid for the Cartoons.

The Cartoons were, after the completion of the tapestries in 1519, probably left at the Tapestry fabric at Arras, and were there found by Rubens. Seven, all that remained, were brought to this country about 1630, cut in slips and packed in boxes, and were deposited in Whitehall, previously to their being sent to Mortlake,<sup>e</sup> to be again worked in tapestry. In 1649, at the sale of Charles's effects, they were, through the influence of Cromwell, purchased for the nation for the sum of 300*l.* In the reign of Charles II., however, but for the representations of the Earl of Danby, that king would have sold them to Louis XIV., who offered a large sum for them. At length, after a lapse of nearly two centuries, William III. had them stretched on canvas, and ordered Sir Christopher Wren to build a room for their reception at Hampton Court. Here they remained until 1764, when they were removed to Buckingham House: in 1787 they were again removed to Windsor, and were finally restored to Hampton Court in 1814, where they still remain; and we may exclaim with the enthusiastic Richardson,<sup>f</sup> “ God be praised

<sup>e</sup> Where King James had established a tapestry manufactory, under the direction of Franz Cleyn, a German painter, of Rostock, in Mecklenburg Schwerin.

<sup>f</sup> ‘ Essay on the Theory of Painting,’ third edition, p. 62, 1773.

that we have so near us such an invaluable blessing !” “ When a man enters,” says the same writer, “ into that awful gallery at Hampton Court, he finds himself amongst a sort of people superior to what he has ever seen, and very probably to what those really were. Indeed this is the principal excellence of those wonderful pictures, as it must be allowed to be that part of painting which is preferable to all others.<sup>8</sup>”

“ What a grace and majesty is seen in the great Apostle of the Gentiles in all his actions, preaching, rending his garments, denouncing vengeance upon the sorcerer ! What a dignity is in the other Apostles wherever they appear, particularly the prince of them in the cartoon of Ananias ! How infinitely and divinely great, with all his gentleness and simplicity, is the Christ in the boat ! But these are exalted characters, which have a delicacy in them as much beyond what any of the gods, demi-gods, or heroes of the ancient heathens can admit of, as the Christian religion excels the ancient superstition. The proconsul Sergius Paulus has a greatness and grace superior to his character, and equal to what one can suppose Julius Cæsar, Augustus, Trajan, or the greatest amongst the Romans to have had. The common people are

<sup>8</sup> Some very bold and effective engravings from these works, by Mr. John Burnet, are in course of publication, and are sold at a very low price ; they have more of the character of the originals than any previous prints, notwithstanding their too great elaboration of shadow.

like gentlemen; even the fishermen, the beggars, have something in them much above what we see in those orders of men.

“The scenes are answerable to the actors; not even the beautiful gate of the Temple, nor any part of the first Temple, nor probably any building in the world, had that beauty and magnificence as appears in what we see in the cartoon of Healing the Cripple. Athens and Lystra appear in these cartoons to be beyond what we can suppose they were when Greece was in its utmost glory.”

Richardson has made some other excellent general remarks on the colouring and execution of these works, pointing out their great superiority in these minor respects. The younger Richardson compares the frescoes of the Vatican Stanze with the Cartoons; and the latter are, in his opinion, “better painted, coloured, and drawn; the composition is better, the airs of the heads are more exquisitely fine; there is more grace and greatness spread throughout; in short, they are better pictures, judging of them only as they are commonly judged of, and without taking the thought and invention into the account.” Francesco Penni was Raphael’s chief assistant in the execution of these works; he was assisted, likewise, by the co-operation of other scholars; “Yet in almost all the Cartoons,” says Mr. Eastlake,<sup>h</sup> “the hand of the

<sup>h</sup> ‘Hand-Book of Painting, Italy,’ note, p. 317.



master is apparent ; most, perhaps, in the calling of Peter, and least in the Paul preaching at Athens, and Christ's Charge to Peter. As designs they are universally considered the finest inventions of Raphael. At the time he was commissioned to prepare them, the fame of Michelangelo's ceiling, in the same chapel they were destined to adorn, was at its height ; and Raphael, inspired with a noble emulation, his practice matured by the execution of several frescoes in the Vatican, treated these new subjects with an elevation of style not perhaps equalled in his former efforts. The highest qualities of these works are undoubtedly addressed to the mind, as vivid interpretations of the spirit and letter of Scripture ; but as examples of Art they are the most perfect expressions of that general grandeur of treatment in form, composition, and draperies, which the Italian masters contemplated from the first, as suited to the purposes of religion and the size of the temples destined to receive such works. In the Cartoons this greatness of style, not without a due regard to variety of character, pervades every figure, and is so striking in some of the Apostles, as to place them on a level with the Prophets of Michelangelo."

About a century and a half has elapsed since the elder Richardson first made his observations on the Cartoons ; and all the numerous criticisms that have since been made have added little that

is essential to the excellent remarks scattered throughout his treatise on 'The Theory of Painting,' where they have the double interest of truth and originality. Richardson was the contemporary of Sir Christopher Wren, and is probably the first author who published criticisms on the Cartoons themselves.

The seven Cartoons at Hampton Court are, without reference to any particular order, the Miraculous Draught of Fishes; Christ's Charge to Peter; the Sacrifice at Lystra; Elymas struck with Blindness; St. Peter healing the Cripple; Paul preaching at Athens; and the Death of Ananias. They are painted in distemper upon paper, whence their appellation of cartoons.<sup>1</sup> The figures are of a very large size, varying from six to nine feet, and the pictures themselves are about twelve feet high, and three of them are about fourteen and the rest about eighteen feet in width.

THE MIRACULOUS DRAUGHT OF FISHES, OR THE CALLING OF PETER:—"And when they had this done, they enclosed a great multitude of fishes: and their net brake. And they beckoned unto their partners, which were in the other ship, that they should come and help them. And they came and filled both the ships, so that they began to sink. When Simon Peter saw it, he fell down at Jesus' knees, saying, Depart from me, for I am

<sup>1</sup> From the Italian *cartone*, pasteboard.

a sinful man, O Lord. And Jesus said unto Simon, Fear not, from henceforth thou shalt catch men."—(Luke v. 6—10.) On this composition Richardson observes — "In the cartoon of the Draught of Fishes, Raphael has made a boat too little to hold the figures he has placed in it; and this is so visible that some are apt to triumph over that great man as having nodded on that occasion; which others have pretended to excuse by saying it was done to make the miracle appear the greater. But the truth is, had he made the boat large enough for those figures, his picture would have been all boat, which would have had a disagreeable effect: and to have made his figures small enough for a vessel of that size would have rendered them unsuitable to the rest of the set, and have made those figures appear less considerable; there would have been too much boat and too little figure. It is amiss as it is, but would have been worse any other way, as it frequently happens in other cases. Raphael, therefore, wisely chose this lesser inconvenience, this seeming error, which he knew the judicious would know was none; and for the rest, he was above being solicitous for his reputation with them. So that, upon the whole, this is so far from being a fault, that it is an instance of the consummate judgment of that incomparable man."

Richardson further notices the good effect of the birds in the foreground of this cartoon. He

says—"There is a certain sea-wildness in them ; and as their food was fish, they contribute mightily to express the affair in hand, which was fishing." They also "prevent the heaviness which that part would otherwise have had, by breaking the parallel lines which would have been made by the boats and the base of the picture."<sup>k</sup>

CHRIST'S CHARGE TO PETER.—"He saith unto him the third time, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me? Peter was grieved because he said unto him the third time, Lovest thou me? and he said unto him, Lord, thou knowest all things ; thou knowest that I love thee. Jesus saith unto him, Feed my sheep" (John xxi. 17).

The keys in the hands of Peter have reference to a previous promise to that Apostle:—"And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven ; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven ; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven" (Matt. xvi. 19). Both the promise and the charge are represented in the cartoon by obvious symbols, as the only way of conveying them as subjects of representation. Richardson has remarked somewhat largely upon this cartoon, on its subject, its composition, and on its colouring, which he considers to be "a wonderful harmony." With regard to the subject he observes—"The intention

<sup>k</sup> Pages 49 and 73, ed. cit.

of this picture was doubtless to honour the Papal dignity. St. Peter was to be here represented in his brightest character, which consists in his having the keys, and the flock of Christ committed to him; but this last being conferred on him after the other (for Christ was then risen from the dead, and the keys he was in possession of before the crucifixion), both histories could not be brought in without making a double picture. The first is therefore expressed by his having the keys in his hand." "In this cartoon," he observes in another place, "Our Saviour is wrapped only in one large piece of white drapery, his left arm and breast and part of his leg naked; which undoubtedly was done to denote him now to appear in his resurrection body, and not as before his crucifixion, when this dress would have been altogether improper."<sup>1</sup>

THE SACRIFICE AT LYSTRA.—"Then the priest of Jupiter, which was before their city, brought oxen and garlands unto the gates, and would have done sacrifice with the people: which when the Apostles Barnabas and Paul heard of, they rent their clothes, and ran in among the people, crying out, Why do ye these things? we also are men

<sup>1</sup> Pages 56, 50. Richardson supposed that the dress of Christ here alluded to was done on second thoughts. This he infers from an old drawing of this cartoon in his possession, in which the Christ was fully clad, that is, with the same large drapery, and another robe under it that covered his body and arms, and reached down to his feet.

of like passions with you," &c. (Acts xiv. 13—15.)

Richardson observes on this picture: "In the cartoon where the people of Lycaonia are going to sacrifice to St. Paul and Barnabas, the occasion of this is finely told: the man who was healed of his lameness is one of the forwardest to express his sense of the Divine power which appeared in those Apostles; and to show it to be him, not only a crutch is under his feet on the ground, but an old man takes up the lappet of his garment, and looks upon the limb which he remembered to have been crippled, and expresses great devotion and admiration; which sentiments are also seen in the other with a mixture of joy."<sup>m</sup>

ELYMAS, THE SORCERER, STRUCK BY PAUL WITH BLINDNESS IN THE PRESENCE OF SERGIUS PAULUS.—"And now, behold the hand of the Lord is upon thee, and thou shalt be blind, not seeing the sun for a season. And immediately there fell on him a mist and a darkness; and he went about seeking some to lead him by the hand." (Acts xiii. 11.)

"Elymas the Sorcerer," says our critic, "is blind from head to foot; but how admirably are terror and astonishment expressed in the people present, and how variously according to the several characters! The proconsul has these sentiments, but as a Roman and a gentleman; the rest in

several degrees and manners." And in another place he observes: "It doth not appear that the proconsul was converted, otherwise than by the writing; nor do I conceive how it was possible to have expressed that important circumstance so properly any other way."<sup>n</sup>

ST. PETER HEALING THE CRIPPLE AT THE BEAUTIFUL GATE.—"And he took him by the right hand and lifted him up; and immediately his feet and ankle-bones received strength." (Acts iii. 7.)

The naked boys in this cartoon are, says Richardson, a "proof of Raphael's great judgment in composition. One of them is in such an attitude as finely varies the turns of the figures; but here is moreover another kind of contrast, and that is caused by their being naked, which, how odd soever it may seem at first, and without considering the reason of it, will be found to have a marvellous effect. Clothe them in imagination, dress them as you will, the picture suffers by it, and would have suffered if Raphael himself had done it. It is for the sake of this contrast, which is of so great consequence in painting, that this knowing man, in the cartoon we are now upon, hath placed his figures at one end of the Temple near the corner, where one would not suppose the beautiful gate was. But this varies the sides of the picture, and at the same time gives him an opportunity to

<sup>n</sup> Pages 53, 61.

enlarge his buildings with a fine portico, the like of which you must imagine must be on the other side of the main structure; all which together makes one of the noblest pieces of architecture that can be conceived.

“He hath departed from historical truth in the pillars that are at the beautiful gate of the Temple; the imagery is by no means agreeable to the superstition of the Jews at that time, and all along after the Captivity. Nor were those kinds of pillars known even in antique architecture, I believe in any nation; but they are so nobly invented by Raphael, and so prodigiously magnificent, that it would have been a pity if he had not indulged himself in this piece of licentiousness, which undoubtedly he knew to be such.”

He notices also the judicious introduction of the burning lamps in this cartoon: he says, “one sees that the place is holy, as well as magnificent.”<sup>o</sup>

PAUL PREACHING AT ATHENS.—“Then Paul stood in the midst of Mars hill, and said, Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious. For as I passed by, and beheld your devotions, I found an altar with this inscription, TO THE UNKNOWN GOD. Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you.” (Acts xvii. 22, 23.)

In this admirable cartoon, observes Richardson

<sup>o</sup> Pages 75, 49, and 28.



“the expressions are very just, and delicate throughout; even the background is not without its meaning: it is expressive of the superstition St. Paul was preaching against. But no historian or orator can possibly give me so great an idea of that eloquent and zealous Apostle as that figure of his does;<sup>p</sup> all the fine things related as said or wrote by him cannot; for there I see a person, face, air and action, which no words can sufficiently describe, but which assure me as much as those can, that that man must speak good sense and to the purpose: and the different sentiments of his auditors are as finely expressed; some appear to be angry and malicious; others to be attentive, and reasoning upon the matter within themselves, or with one another; and one especially is apparently convinced. These last are the freethinkers of that time, and are placed before the Apostle; the others are behind him, not only as caring less for the preacher, or the doctrine, but to raise the Apostolic character, which would lose something of its dignity, if his maligners were supposed to be able to look him in the face.”

Our critic's observations on the colouring of this picture are distinguished for the same soundness of judgment which characterises his remarks gene-

<sup>p</sup> The attitude of the figure of Paul in this cartoon is, as already observed, much the same as that of the figure in the Brancacci chapel, generally attributed to Masaccio, but recently to Filippino Lippi.

rally : “ As the tout-ensemble of a picture must be beautiful in its masses, so must it be as to its colours. And as what is principal must be the most conspicuous, the predominant colours of that should be diffused throughout the whole. This Raphael has observed remarkably in the cartoon of St. Paul preaching; his drapery is red and green, and these colours are scattered everywhere; but judiciously, for subordinate colours as well as subordinate lights serve to soften and support the principal one, which otherwise would appear as spots, and consequently be offensive.”<sup>9</sup>

THE DEATH OF ANANIAS.—“ But Peter said, Ananias, why hath Satan filled thine heart to lie to the Holy Ghost, and to keep back part of the price of the land? While it remained was it not thine own? and after it was sold was it not in thine own power? Why hast thou conceived this thing in thine heart? Thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God. “ And Ananias hearing these words fell down, and gave up the ghost: and great fear came on all them that heard these things.” (Acts v. 3-5.)

In this cartoon Richardson notices the admirable expression of terror and astonishment in the people present, together with the sentiments of joy and triumph which naturally arise in good minds upon the sight of the effects of Divine justice and the victory of truth. He notices also how justly in

this cartoon the Apostles are made a subordinate group ; subordinate "because the principal action relates to the criminal, and thither the eye is directed by almost all the figures in the picture."<sup>r</sup>

In the palace at Hampton Court, in a small apartment next to the Cartoon Gallery, is a large drawing of another of the most celebrated works of Raphael, the Transfiguration, the last and most finished of all Raphael's paintings ; this drawing and the Cartoons together show Raphael to greater advantage than he is to be seen anywhere else. Another very celebrated picture in oil by this great painter is the Madonna di San Sisto, at Dresden, which for sublimity of invention is probably the greatest of all his works.\*

In the Farnesina at Rome he has displayed an ability also in the treatment of mythological subjects, almost equal to his power in representing the sacred or historical ; as frescoes these works are inferior, they were however not executed by Raphael. They are also much decayed, and were little more than a ruin in the time of Carlo Maratti, who restored these frescoes as well as those of the Vatican ; and to him probably we owe what remains of them.†

<sup>r</sup> Pages 53, 70.

\* It is engraved by C. F. Muller, and lithographed by F. Hanfstängel.

† The frescoes of the Farnesina have been lately etched by F. Schubert, a German painter long resident in Rome ; Munich, 1846.

## CHAPTER XX.

## THE SCHOOL OF RAPHAEL.

RAPHAEL had many scholars and imitators; and among them are comprised a majority of the greatest painters who succeeded him in Italy.

Of his scholars, GIULIO PIPPI, born at Rome in 1492, and commonly called GIULIO ROMANO, was the most eminent. He was distinguished for the correct and powerful design of Raphael, but in other respects he scarcely approached him. Although he possessed great powers of invention, there is a want of sentiment and expression in his works, and his design and colouring are heavy. The heaviness of his colouring has been attributed to the circumstance of his having been much employed by Raphael in the dead colouring of his oil pictures.

After the completion of the great series of frescoes in the Hall of Constantine in the Vatican, which, as already observed, he painted with the assistance of Gianfrancesco Penni from the designs of Raphael, after that great painter's death, Giulio was invited to Mantua, by the Duke Federigo Gonzaga, and he there painted in the Palazzo del Te his celebrated frescoes of the Fall of the Giants,<sup>a</sup> and the story of Cupid and Psyche.

<sup>a</sup> Engraved by P. S. Bartoli.

Of Giulio Romano's oil-pictures two of the most celebrated are the Martyrdom of San Stefano in the church of that Saint at Genoa, and a large familiar Holy Family at Dresden, which is one of the best works of its class extant. The Virgin is represented washing the child, who is standing in a large basin, and the little St. John is playfully pouring water over him; Elizabeth is standing on one side with a towel in her hands; Joseph is looking on at the opposite side.<sup>b</sup>

Giulio distinguished himself also as an architect at Mantua, and through his numerous scholars established an important school of painting there. He died at Mantua in 1546.

GIANFRANCESCO PENNI, coheir with Giulio Romano to Raphael, was born at Florence in 1488. He however went early to Rome, and became eventually Raphael's favourite scholar, and he appears to have been in a manner his steward, whence he was commonly called *Il Fattore*, or *Il Fattore di Raffaello*. He had more of the grace of Raphael than Giulio, but less vigour: there are copies by him of some of Raphael's most celebrated oil pictures. He died in 1528 at Naples, where he had at least spread a knowledge of the Roman school.

PIERO BUONACCORSI, commonly called PIERINO DEL VAGA, the brother-in-law of Penni, was like-

<sup>b</sup> This picture is called '*La Sainte Famille au Bassin*;' it is engraved by J. J. Flipart.

wise one of the painters engaged in the Hall of Constantine. He was born at Florence in 1500, but went very young to Rome with a Florentine painter of the name of Vaga, whence his own name. Raphael employed him on the frescoes of the Loggie, and he obtained the reputation of being, after Giulio and Penni, the most able of Raphael's school. Vasari considered him the best designer among the Florentines after Michelangelo. He went to Genoa after the sack of Rome in 1527, and what Giulio Romano did for Mantua, Del Vaga did for the school of Genoa. He introduced the grand design of Rome among its painters; and he likewise painted there a great composition in fresco of the Fall of the Giants, in the palace of Prince Doria, his patron. After the execution of these and other works he returned to Rome in the Pontificate of Paul III., and there enjoyed a reputation second only to Michelangelo's. He died in 1547.

Even the slightest biographical sketch of all the numerous scholars and imitators of Raphael would occupy more space than the limits of this outline will admit; none, therefore, except the most considerable masters, in this as well as in other schools, can be here noticed much beyond a mere enumeration of their names.

The following masters, though all entitled to rank among the great painters of Italy, did little more than spread the style of Raphael; and though

this of itself is an important service to art, their labours are recorded in that statement; at the same time they carried into the various parts comparatively but a feeble reflection of the powers of their great master:—Giovanni da Udine (distinguished chiefly for painting accessory objects in Raphael's designs); Andrea di Salerno; Polidoro Caldara da Caravaggio; Pellegrino da Modena; Bartolomeo Ramenghi, called *Il Bagnacavallo*; Vincenzio di San Gimignano; Timoteo della Vite; Raffaellino del Colle; and Benvenuto Tisio, called *Il Garofalo*.<sup>c</sup>

POLIDORO, originally a mason's labourer, was celebrated for his imitations in *chiaroscuro* of ancient *bassi-rilievi*. He executed, however, works of a higher class at Naples, whither he went in 1527, and others at Messina. He was assassinated at Messina in his forty-eighth year, by his own servant, for his money, in 1543, when on the point of returning to Rome.

Polidoro's imitations of *bassi-rilievi* and other works of ancient sculpture were executed in partnership with Maturino of Florence. These decorations were in imitation of bronzes and marbles, and generally in the form of friezes: they were painted both on the interiors and on the exteriors of the houses of Rome. Scarcely anything, however, now remains of their works; but some are preserved in the prints of Alberti, Bartoli, and Galestruzzi.

<sup>c</sup> The Penny Cyclopædia and Supplement contain notices of most of these painters by the writer of this Essay.

BENVENUTO TISIÒ, called from his monogram (a gilliflower) Garofalo, was an important painter for Ferrara, near which place he was born in 1481. He visited Rome as early as the year 1500, but he returned again to the north. In 1508 he returned to Rome and engaged himself with Raphael, whose great powers and personal qualities excited in Garofalo, as in other painters, a species of enthusiastic veneration for him. Business, however, called Garofalo to Ferrara, and he left Rome before Raphael's death. He there executed some frescoes which gave him the rank of the head of the Ferrarese school: he is, however, best known out of Ferrara for his small pictures in oil, which evince many of the characteristics of Raphael's style, though they are executed in a dry manner: they possess too much of the *quattrocentismo*, or that crudity of style which characterizes the schools which preceded Leonardo da Vinci and his great contemporaries. But in colouring Garofalo was more than successful; some of his small pictures rival the works of the early Venetians in this respect; they are conspicuous for pure positive tints, which are perfectly preserved to this day. He died at Ferrara in 1559, having been blind the last few years of his life. Dosso Dossi, who likewise studied some time at Rome, was the most distinguished contemporary of Garofalo at Ferrara.

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## CHAPTER XXI.

SCHOOLS OF LOMBARDY: CORREGGIO AND  
PARMIGIANO.

WHILE form and expression were almost exclusively cultivated at Florence and Rome, chiaroscuro and colour were perfected in the north. But throughout all the Italian schools in this period the religious spirit of the *quattrocento* art gradually gave place to classical mythology and history, and the sensuous development of art became the highest aim of the artists; this is a predominant quality of what is styled the *cinquecento*<sup>a</sup> art.

Correggio is the greatest master of chiaroscuro, or light and dark.

ANTONIO ALLEGRI, commonly called CORREGGIO, from his birth-place of that name, near Modena, was the son of a respectable merchant, Pellegrino Allegri, and was born in the latter end of the year 1493, or in the beginning of 1494. Scarcely anything is known of his early career

<sup>a</sup> Cinquecento, or five hundred, is a mere abbreviation for one thousand five hundred, and signifies the style of art which arose shortly after the year 1500, and therefore strictly the art of the sixteenth century, as also the *quattrocento* means that of the fifteenth.

He is supposed to have been the pupil of one Tonino Bartolotto, of Correggio, but he probably acquired much from the works of Leonardo da Vinci and his Milanese scholars: as his earlier works have a greater affinity to this school than any other. He probably also had opportunities of studying works of the schools of Mantua and Modena, both of which were influenced by the painters of Venice. The pictures of Giorgione, who died when Correggio was a boy, were alone sufficient to attract the studies of Correggio to those qualities of light and shade for which his own works are so distinguished. In 1519, when he was only twenty-five years of age, we find Correggio a master of established reputation at Parma, and contracting in the following year to paint in fresco the dome of the church of San Giovanni. He had before this time painted several fine altar-pieces at Correggio, two of which are now among the principal ornaments of the celebrated gallery of Dresden—the Madonna enthroned, surrounded by saints, known as the St. Sebastian; and the picture of a similar character known as the Saint George.<sup>b</sup> His first works in Parma were some mythological subjects in the convent of San Paolo. The next in importance to these is the Ascension of Christ in the presence of the Apostles, in the church of San Giovanni. And a still greater work is the Assumption of the Virgin, on the dome

<sup>b</sup> These works have been lately admirably lithographed by F. Hanfstängel.

or cupola of the Cathedral of Parma. He contracted for this work in 1522, and undertook to paint the whole dome and choir for 1000 ducats, or about 500*l.* sterling, which may have been worth at that time about 3500*l.*<sup>c</sup> Correggio, however, never fulfilled this engagement; he did not even complete the dome, which was finished by his scholar Giorgio Gandini. The Apostles likewise witness the Assumption of the Virgin; and in the four lunettes on the piers of the dome Correggio has painted in the same size the patron saints of Parma—John the Baptist, Sant' Ilario, San Tommaso, and San Bernardo degli Uberti. There is no window or lantern above this dome, the light being admitted from long oval windows in the lower part: a circumstance which adds greatly to the effect of the composition, and of which Correggio has taken the utmost advantage. He has made the whole illumination of the subject proceed from the glory around Christ in the centre of the cupola; Christ is descending from amidst a glory of angels to meet the Virgin borne up from the earth by another crowd of angels; the Apostles, witnesses of the Assumption, are painted between

<sup>c</sup> The common report circulated by Vasari about Correggio's poverty is unfounded; he appears from existing documents to have been generally well paid for his works. Pungileoni, 'Memorie Istoriche di Antonio Allegri, detto il Correggio,' Parma, 1817-21; 'Sketches of the Lives of Correggio and Parmigiano,' London, 1823; Lanzi, 'Storia Pittorica dell' Italia.'

the windows in the lower part of the cupola. The whole forms one great host of saints and angels, all illumined from the central glory in the summit; and the light has a wonderful effect upon the apostles and saints below. A striking peculiarity of these and other works by Correggio is the violent perspective in which most of the figures are seen.<sup>d</sup> Foreshortening appears to have been a passion with him, though in the frescoes of these cupolas, in which the subject events are supposed to take place immediately above the spectator, the figures must of necessity have been foreshortened if naturally or justly represented. In many, however, of Correggio's altar-pieces, he has displayed his skill in this department of art when the occasion did not necessarily require it.

Besides the above frescoes, which are accounted Correggio's master-pieces, there are many very celebrated easel-pictures and altar-pieces in oil by him, particularly the Nativity, or the Notte (Night), as it is called in Italy. The light of this picture proceeds from the infant Saviour, a circumstance upon which much has been written, as an original and happy invention; the principle was, however, previously applied by Raphael in the fresco in the Vatican of the Liberation of St. Peter from Prison; in the central portion of this composition, the

<sup>d</sup> Engraved by G. B. Vanni: a new series of prints from these and the frescoes of San Giovanni are being engraved by the Cav. Toschi.

Angel visiting St. Peter in the Prison, the entire illumination proceeds from the angel. The *Notte* is now, with the *St. Sebastian*, the *Magdalen*, and other works by Correggio, in the gallery at Dresden; they were purchased about the middle of the last century of the Duke of Modena, with the rest of that prince's collection, by Frederick Augustus II., elector of Saxony. The *Ecce Homo* and the *Venus and Mercury*, in the National Gallery, are likewise among Correggio's most celebrated productions. He died of a fever at Correggio, March 5, 1534, in his forty-first year.

Though the style of Correggio had much influence upon the arts of Lombardy, and the north of Italy generally, he seems to have had no very distinguished scholars. The most eminent was Bernardino Gatti, called *Il Soiaro*; he died at an advanced age, in 1571. Others were Giorgio Gandini already mentioned; Antonio Bernieri, also sometimes called *Antonio da Correggio*: and his own son Pomponio, who, though much noticed by the princes of Parma, appears to have been a painter of very moderate ability. He was still living in 1590.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>e</sup> Correggio was married in 1520 to Girolama Merlini, a young lady of Mantua, then seventeen years old; he received with her a dowry of 257 ducats, equivalent, perhaps, at present to about 1000*l.* sterling. She is supposed to have been the original of the *Madonna* in the *HOLY FAMILY*

The so-called grace of Correggio, or that general beauty and softness of effect which depends upon the combination of certain technical excellences of design, colour, and chiaroscuro, with taste and expression, is now, as formerly, still a distinctive characteristic of this painter. He was the first among the moderns who possessed it in a very eminent degree, and is allowed to be still unequalled in this attractive quality.

The works of Correggio were so distinctly conspicuous for this quality before the rise of the modern school of Bologna, that the first sight of some of his easel-pictures forced Annibale Carracci, in a letter to his cousin Lodovico, to declare that after them the St. Cecilia of Raphael appeared to be wooden. Annibale, in a letter to Lodovico from Parma, dated April 18, 1580, says,—“Tibaldi, Niccolino, Raphael himself, are nothing to Correggio. The St. Jerome, the St. Catherine, the Madonna della Scodella; I would rather have any one of them than the St. Cecilia. How much grander and at the same time more delicate is St. Jerome than that St. Paul,<sup>f</sup> which at first appeared to me to be a miracle! but now I feel as if it were made of wood, it is so hard.”<sup>g</sup> These remarks, besides known as La Zingarella, the Gipsy. He had by this lady four children; the above-mentioned Pomponio, born in 1521, and three daughters. His wife, his son, one daughter, and his father, survived him. Pungileoni, ‘Memorie,’ &c.

<sup>f</sup> The figure of Paul in the picture of St. Cecilia.

<sup>g</sup> Malvasia, ‘Felsina Pittrice,’ i. p. 365. The St. Jerome

expressing the delicacy of Correggio's style, explain also the tendency of the rising Eclectic school of Bologna : it was sensuous and technical. Annibale, however, was only twenty years of age when he wrote this letter ; probably he could not have used such expressions after his acquaintance with the works of Raphael at Rome : he could at this time only judge of Raphael by the St. Cecilia.

FRANCESCO MARIA MAZZOLA, commonly called PARMIGIANO and PARMIGIANINO from his birth-place Parma, is, after Correggio, the most distinguished painter of this school. His style resembles Correggio's in those qualities which distinguish Correggio, but, as Annibale Carracci has remarked, it is only a distant resemblance :<sup>h</sup> in design he was a successful imitator of Michelangelo.

Parmigiano was engaged to paint a chapel in the church of San Giovanni while Correggio was painting the cupola, but he was never the pupil of that painter. He, however, evidently derived much benefit from the study of his works ; but in 1523 he left Parma for Rome, where he painted many celebrated works. He was engaged, during the sack of Rome, in 1527, on the picture of St. Jerome in the National Gallery. After the sack of Rome he is now the principal ornament of the Academy at Parma ; it is engraved by Agostino Carracci, C. Cort, Strange, and others.

<sup>h</sup> Malvasia, in the letter quoted, i. 356.



Moses breaking the Tablets. (Parmigiano).



repaired to Bologna, and from this period are to be dated his best productions. He returned to Parma in 1531, and soon afterwards commenced the frescoes of the choir of Santa Maria della Steccata; but owing to some causes not quite clear, some say his own dissipation, he never completed this work; and after undergoing imprisonment on account of his breach of contract and other difficulties, he died a fugitive at Casal Maggiore, August 24, 1540, in his thirty-seventh year. The celebrated figure of Moses breaking the Tables of the Law is a part of the frescoes of the Steccata. Of this figure Sir Joshua Reynolds says, "We are at a loss which to admire most, the correctness of drawing or the grandeur of the conception."<sup>i</sup> Of his easel-pictures one of the most beautiful is the celebrated Cupid making his Bow, painted for Francesco Boiardi, commonly attributed to Correggio, now in the Gallery of Vienna, but well known in copies and in prints. The most celebrated of his altar-pieces is the Santa Margherita, now in the Academy of Bologna. When Guido was asked which he preferred, this picture or the St. Cecilia of Raphael, he exclaimed, "That, the St. Margaret of Parmigiano."<sup>k</sup>

<sup>i</sup> Discourse XV.

<sup>k</sup> Affo, 'Vita di Francesco Mazzola,' Parma, 1784; Lanzi, 'Storia Pittorica,' &c.

## CHAPTER XXII.

## VENETIAN SCHOOL—COLOUR: GIORGIONE AND TITIAN.

IN the works of Giorgione and Titian at Venice we find the perfect accomplishment of the last great principle we have to consider in the review of the complete development of painting—local colouring.

While the rest of the Venetian painters were with more or less success contentedly following the dry manner of Gian Bellini, it was completely exploded by these two great painters, Bellini's own scholars.

GIORGIO BARBARELLI, on account of the beauty of his person commonly called GIORGIONE, was born at Castelfranco in 1477. He is the first painter who practically and decidedly gave up the mere sentiment or religion of art for its exclusive sensuous development. He threw aside all convention, and embraced art for its own sake. Beauty of form, colour, and effect, appear to have been his principal motive in all his works: he was essentially an artist. This is the characteristic development of the Venetian school; and as such a development could not be more powerfully evinced than by a consummate mastery of colouring, colour

became the predominant quality of the works of the Venetian masters.

Giorgione appears to have worked upon the principle that the imitation of the effect of nature as a whole was the true object of a painter, whatever might be the nature or purpose of his representation: this is applying the dramatic to the lowest principles. The difficulties, however, involved in carrying out this system are immense; the very mechanical process of painting becomes in the highest degree laborious, and requires an accuracy of observation and patience in delineation which it falls to the lot of few to possess. When, however, this accuracy of representation is all that a painting evinces, it is more a work of mechanical than creative or imaginative art. The greatest difficulties, however, of this style, local colour and tone, are those which the painters of Venice have most fully mastered. Mind appears from the beginning of the sixteenth century to have been ever less an object of study with the Venetian painters than the mere pictorial representation, which may perhaps be safely said to be the end of their efforts as a school; the moral or lesson of a picture, if it has any, being always subordinate to the one great aim of displaying a beautiful composition of colours: this is a style which may be fairly characterized as the ornamental.

Giorgione was in a great measure the founder of this new style, though the roundness and tone of

light and shade for which his works are conspicuous may have been acquired from the works of Leonardo da Vinci, with some of which he must have been acquainted. Giorgione appears to have been the first to imitate the texture of stuffs : he painted all his draperies from the actual stuff represented, and imitated as nearly as possible their various substances. Before his time draperies were generally represented as of the same material, and differed only in their colours or patterns. The exceptions to this practice, if any in Italy, are very few ; Raphael appears in the cartoon of the Beautiful Gate, and in others, to have attempted an imitation of shot-silk, or some such stuff, in some of his draperies ; but the effect alluded to may have arisen from some change which has taken place in the colours.

Giorgione was a great master of portrait, for with the power of objective imitation already described he combined good drawing ; and his handling was remarkably skilful and precise. He executed several historical pictures and some extensive frescoes, but a few portraits are now the chief of his productions which remain. He died young in 1511, having attained only his thirty-fourth year. Whether, if he had lived longer, he would have executed great works, in which every part and object would have been as perfectly wrought as some of his single figures and their costumes, must remain a matter of opinion. Titian did attain this high

degree of excellence, and produced such a series of master-pieces that, though originally the assistant and imitator of Giorgione, his fame completely eclipsed Giorgione's, and he became the acknowledged head of the new and great Venetian school of painting. Fra Sebastiano del Piombo was the scholar of Giorgione.

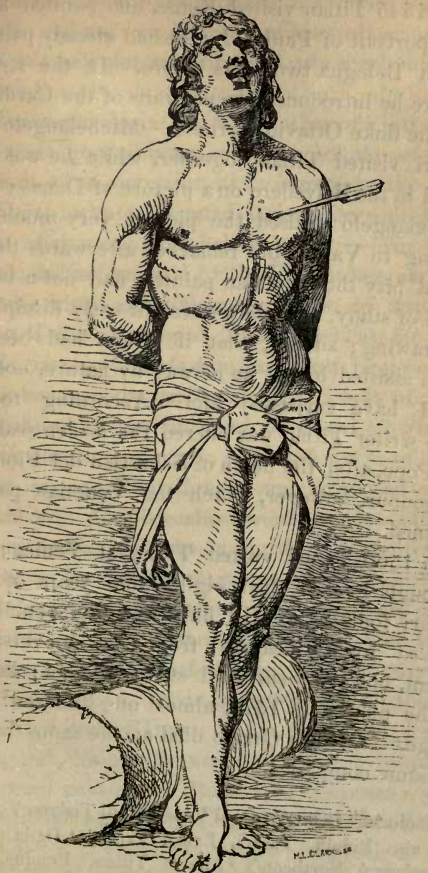
TIZIANO VECELLIO, commonly called TITIAN, was born at Capo del Cadore, in the Venetian state, in 1477. He studied successively with Gentile and Giovanni Bellini, but he remained only a very short time with Gentile. In 1512, owing perhaps to the great age of Giovanni, Titian was employed to complete his unfinished works in the Sala del Gran Consiglio. The Senate were so well satisfied with the manner in which he executed this task, that they conferred upon him the office of *La Senseria*, with a salary of 300 crowns, by which he was obliged to paint for eight crowns the portrait of every Doge created in his time, to be placed in the palace of St. Mark. He accordingly painted by virtue of this place the portraits of five Doges; he lived to see two others, but he was too infirm to paint their portraits. In 1514 he painted the *Bacchus and Ariadne*, which is now in the National Gallery; and in 1516 he produced his great master-piece, the *Assumption of the Virgin*, which is now in the Academy of Venice: it was originally painted for the high altar of the church of *Santa Maria Gloriosa de' Frari*. This is one of

the finest pictures in the world ; it is of very large dimensions, the figures being larger than life. The Virgin ascends surrounded by angels into the presence of the Creator, who, attended by angels, is seen in the uppermost part of the picture : below are the assembled Apostles indicating by their attitudes various degrees of admiration and astonishment. The St. Peter Martyr, another of Titian's master-pieces, was painted twelve years later than the Assumption, in 1528. Others of his most celebrated works are the Entombment of Christ, in the Manfrini palace at Venice (there is a repetition of it in the Louvre at Paris), and the Martyrdom of San Lorenzo, at Madrid, of which there is likewise a repetition in the church of the Jesuits at Venice. This picture also is one of the finest productions of modern art.<sup>a</sup>

Titian went, about the year 1532, with Charles V. into Spain, and remained there three years, during which time he painted several excellent works. He appears to have left Spain in May, 1535, when Charles started on his expedition to Africa ; but before he left, the emperor created the painter Count Palatine of the empire, and Knight of the Order of St. Iago.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Engraved by C. Cort.

<sup>b</sup> Ridolfi, 'Vite de' Pittori,' &c., has 1553 ; but Cean Bermudez, in his 'Diccionario Historico de los mas Illustres Profesores de les Bellas Artes in Espana,' has shown that this must be a misprint for 1535.



St. Sebastian. (Titian.)

In 1545 Titian visited Rome, and painted a second portrait of Paul III.: he had already painted him at Bologna two years before. In the second picture he introduced the portraits of the Cardinal, and the duke Ottavio Farnese. Michelangelo and Vasari visited Titian together, while he was engaged in the Belvedere on a picture of Danaë; and Michelangelo praised the picture very much, according to Vasari, but remarked afterwards that it was a pity the Venetian painters had not a better mode of study, that they were not early disciplined in drawing; adding, that if Titian had been as much assisted by art as he was by nature, nothing could have surpassed him. According to the same writer Titian was offered the leaden seals by the Pope, after the death of Sebastian del Piombo; an honour, however, which the Venetian painter declined.

In 1566 Vasari visited Titian at Venice; and although he was then eighty-nine years of age, Vasari found him still busy with his pencil, and derived great pleasure from his conversation. Titian, however, survived still ten years; he died of the plague in 1576, almost one hundred years of age.<sup>c</sup> His son Orazio died at the same time, of the same complaint.

<sup>c</sup> Cadorin, 'Dello Amore ai Veneziani di Tiziano Vecellio.' See also Ridolfi, Vasari, Lanzi, Zanetti, 'Della Pittura Veneziana;' Northcote's 'Life of Titian,' London, 1830; and the Author's notice of TITIAN in the 'Penny Cyclopædia.'



Orazio Vecellio accompanied his father to Rome, and he assisted him in many of his works: some of this painter's portraits are said to be attributed to Titian.

Francesco Vecellio, the brother of Titian, was likewise a good painter, but he forsook the art for the pursuit of a merchant, as it is said, at the advice of Titian, who is reputed to have been jealous of him. Francesco died in 1560.

Much has been said by the Florentines, and some recent critics of different schools, in disparagement of the drawing of Titian; yet, as far as regards propriety of design, there can be no comparison between the earlier and best works of Titian and those of the *anatomical* school of Florence of the sixteenth century. In the works of Titian there is no ostentation of any kind, no artifice whatever. In his earliest works he rivals the best of the Dutch painters in finish. In composition, in design, in chiaroscuro, in colouring, Titian sought only truth, and that according to his own perception of it. It is generally allowed that for the pictorial imitation of nature, without any addition or selection, Titian has surpassed all the other great painters of Italy; but in invention, composition, and design, he was very inferior to many of the great painters of Rome and Florence; yet in design he has had no superior in the Venetian school. His works are purely historical, or simple pictures of recorded facts: and he is said to have

always painted from nature. It is in colouring that Titian is pre-eminent: the same grandeur of colour and effect characterize everything that he painted, whether in the figure, in the landscape, in the draperies, or in other accessories. He was, however, in nothing ideal; the scrupulous fidelity with which he represented natural appearances necessarily precluded this quality from his works; but in composition, though generally simple, he was often grand: in colour, local and absolute, he is allowed to have surpassed all other painters; in landscape few have surpassed him; in portrait few have equalled him,—and there is no finer specimen of his style in this respect than the picture of himself and the Senator at Windsor, formerly supposed to be Titian and Aretino.

Titian excelled greatly in painting women and children; his numerous Venuses, as his naked women are generally called, are well known: one of the finest of them is the celebrated Dresden Venus, of which there is a repetition in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge.

The principal scholars and imitators of Titian were Paris Bordone, Girolamo di Tiziano, and Bonifazio da Verona (called by Vasari, Bonifazio Veneziano).

Other distinguished painters of the school were—Francesco Torbido, called Il Moro, Pietro Luzzo, called Larotto (by Vasari, Morto da Feltro), and Lorenzo Luzzi, all scholars of Giorgione. To

these must be added—Lorenzo Lotto, Jacopo Palma the elder, Giovanni Cariani, and Girolamo da Trevisi: also Ludovico Fiumicelli, and Francesco Dominici of Trevisi, Alessandro Bonvicino, known as Il Moretto di Brescia; and Gio. Battista Moroni of Bergamo.

GIAN ANTONIO LICINIO, called PORDENONE, was the contemporary of Titian; he painted in a similar style to Giorgione, but with greater force of light and shade. Pordenone is one of the most distinguished of the Venetian fresco-painters: he died in 1540, aged fifty-six.

There are still three great painters of this school to be noticed—Jacopo Bassano, Tintoretto, and Paul Veronese.

JACOPO DA PONTE, commonly called IL BASSANO, from his birth-place, was perhaps the earliest of the Italian *genre* painters. He treated all subjects as familiar scenes of his own time; he excelled in painting landscape and animals, and introduced the latter into his works on all occasions when admissible, even with or without propriety. The above is, however, strictly the character of his later works only; some of his best and earliest differ little from the works of other painters of the Venetian school: they are excellent in colour, and in light and shade. It is his later productions only that are chiefly distinguished for their accessories, which renders them more pictures of domestic or ordinary life, not belonging to a particular class, but in some

degree to every class, whence his pictures may be termed *Genre*-pictures, that is, of a *kind* which, for want of a definite character, cannot be definitely described. It has already been observed that this style of painting had its votaries also among the Greeks; Pyreicus being the most distinguished of the class.<sup>d</sup> Jacopo died at Bassano in 1592, aged eighty-two. He had four sons, all of whom he brought up as painters.<sup>e</sup>

JACOPO ROBUSTI, called TINTORETTO from the trade of his father, who was a dyer (Tintore), was born at Venice in 1512, and was placed by his parents with Titian. He remained, however, only ten days with this great painter, who is said to have sent him home on account of jealousy for his great abilities, which even in that short time had sufficiently evinced themselves to excite the jealousy of an already renowned master. Tintoretto distinguished himself very early both in fresco and in oil; but his most celebrated productions are his oil pictures: among these the *Miracolo dello Schiavo* holds the first place. In this picture Saint Mark delivers a Venetian, who had become a Turkish slave, from

<sup>d</sup> The Greek term *Ryparographos*, *ῥυπαρογραφος*, signifies literally Dirt-painter. The French term 'Peintre du genre bas,' implies also a certain inferiority of aim, but a genre-picture need not necessarily be low in its subject; yet it must be a picture of some familiar object, or ordinary custom or incident.

<sup>e</sup> Ridolfi; Verci, 'Notizie intorno alla Vita e alle Opere de' Pittori, Scultori, ed Intagliatori della città di Bassano.'

the punishment ordered him by his master, by rendering him invulnerable, so that various instruments of torture are broken on his body without hurting him. The picture is now in the Academy at Venice; it was painted in 1549 for the brotherhood of St. Mark; and though at first the worthy friars made some difficulty about the price, they were afterwards, on account of the great praise the picture elicited, very glad to have three other pictures honouring their saint, at the painter's own price: these pictures are still in the Scuola di San Marco at Venice, where the other originally was.<sup>f</sup> Pietro da Cortona is reported to have said that if he lived in Venice he would never pass a holiday without visiting these four pictures by Tintoretto: he admired chiefly the drawing. The pictures he painted for the Scuola di San Rocco are likewise among his most celebrated works: the famous Crucifixion, by engraving which Agostino Carracci so much delighted the old painter, is one of these pictures. Tintoretto embraced Agostino, and insisted upon being allowed to stand godfather to his son Antonio, who was born at that time at Venice, 1589.<sup>g</sup>

The two pictures above mentioned, and the Marriage at Cana in the church of Santa Maria della Salute at Venice, are said to be the only works on

<sup>f</sup> There is a print of the *Miracolo dello Schiavo*, by J. Matham.

<sup>g</sup> Malvasia, 'Felsina Pittrice.'

which Tintoretto wrote his name.<sup>h</sup> He was so rapid a painter, that he was called *Il Furioso* by his contemporaries: Sebastian del Piombo used to say that Tintoretto could paint as much in two days as he could in two years. His great picture of Paradise, fixed to the ceiling of the library in the ducal palace at Venice, is the largest oil-painting in the world. It is on canvas, and was commenced in several pieces in the Scuola della Misericordia, but was finished in its place. He was assisted in it by his son, Domenico Robusti, who was born in 1562. This picture measures 74 feet by 34, and contains a surprising number of figures; but its great size is its chief distinction.

Though a rapid painter, Tintoretto was generally as careless as rapid; and many of his works rival the pictures of Giuseppe Crespi in coarseness of handling. Some of his earliest works, however, are very carefully finished; but they are few. On the other hand, some of his largest pictures are merely dead-coloured, and many were evidently painted off without the slightest previous preparation. The Venetians used to say he had three pencils, one of gold, one of silver, and a third of iron. In form and colouring Tintoretto is also unlike the generality of the Venetian painters: he professed to draw like Michelangelo and to colour

<sup>h</sup> The marriage at Cana has been engraved by Volpato and by Fialletti.

like Titian. He is said to have written the following words on the wall of his studio:—

“ Il disegno di Michelangelo, e 'l colorito di Tiziano.”

His works, however, show neither the one nor the other. In design he was certainly muscular, but often lean and incorrect; in colouring he was heavy and cold. When he was once asked which were the prettiest colours, he answered, “Black and white.” His pictures exemplify this taste: they are, some of them, merely light and dark, not disposed scientifically or harmoniously, but alternately and capriciously: shade predominates perhaps in all his works.

Tintoretto always kept up his rivalry with Titian; and Aretin seems to have shared in the animosity of Titian, until a ludicrous incident put an apparent stop to it. Aretin was previously in the habit of occasionally abusing Tintoretto. The painter one day meeting the poet, asked him to go and sit for his picture, to which Aretin assented; but he had no sooner seated himself in the painter's studio than Tintoretto pulled out a pistol, with great violence, from underneath his vest, and approached him with it in his hand; but Aretin jumping up in a great fright, called out, “Jacopo, what are you about?” “Oh, don't alarm yourself,” said the other, “I am only going to take your measure,” and suiting the action to his words, he said, “you are just two pistols and a half.” “What a mountebank you are!”

observed Aretin; "you are always up to some frolic." From this time, however, the poet was more guarded in what he said of the painter, and the two became better friends. Tintoretto died at Venice in 1594, aged 82.<sup>1</sup> His daughter, Mariana, was an elegant portrait painter: she died in 1590, aged only thirty years.

PAOLO CAGLIARI, commonly called Paolo Veronese, was born at Verona in 1528. The general principles of the Venetian school are more effectively developed in the works of this painter than in any other; they may be truly designated magnificent. Splendour of effect appears to have been the chief *end* of his efforts: and though in the principles of his colouring he is identical with Titian and the other great masters of Venice, he may be said, through the peculiar magnificence of his works, to have established a style of his own. The pictures of Paul Veronese are distinguished by crowds of people arrayed with all the pomp and splendour that the imagination can conceive or colours accomplish; in his backgrounds are piles of architecture of a vastness and richness without a parallel in reality; these, however, are said to have been painted by his brother Benedetto Cagliari. The frescoes of the Stanze of the Vatican, or the

<sup>1</sup> Ridolfi, 'Le Maraviglie dell' Arte, or Vite de' Pittori;' &c.; Zanetti, 'Della Pittura Veneziana.' The reader will find also an account of the life and works of this painter in the author's article TINTORETTO in the 'Penny Cyclopædia.



ceiling of the Capella Sistina, appear more easy of attainment than the wonderful works of this great painter. The art of the Roman frescoes, from its evident principles, points itself to the way to its attainment; but the magic creations of Paul Veronese only dazzle the mind by their splendour, and leave no other impression than that of a gorgeous dream.

There is, perhaps, not a better example of this painter's works than the Marriage at Cana, in the Louvre at Paris. This great work, measuring about thirty feet in width and about twenty in height, contains about one hundred and fifty heads and figures, many being portraits of some of the most distinguished people of his time. Paolo Veronese was the real master of Rubens. His works, however, have their defects: he was, as Algarotti observes, careless in design, and in costume extremely licentious; but these faults are completely concealed by the absorbing magnificence of his colouring, which, added to his noble fancy and inexhaustible invention, render his defects as a grain of sand in the balance. Paolo Veronese died at Verona in 1588. Before concluding our observations on the painting of Venice of this period, we may quote the remarks of Sir Joshua Reynolds,<sup>k</sup> on these Venetian painters, and Venetian colouring generally: "However great the difference is between the composition of the Venetian and the rest

<sup>k</sup> Discourse IV.

of the Italian schools, there is full as great a disparity in the effect of their pictures as produced by colours. And though in this respect the Venetians must be allowed extraordinary skill, yet even that skill, as they have employed it, will but ill correspond with the great style. Their colouring is not only too brilliant, but, I will venture to say, too harmonious,<sup>1</sup> to produce that solidity, steadiness, and simplicity of effect which heroic subjects require, and which simple or grave colours only can give to a work. That they are to be cautiously studied by those who are ambitious of treading the great walk of history is confirmed, if it wants confirmation, by the greatest of all authorities, Michelangelo. This wonderful man, after having seen a picture by Titian,<sup>m</sup> told Vasari, who accompanied him, "that he liked much his colouring and manner;" but then he added, "that it was a pity the Venetian painters did not learn to draw correctly in their early youth, and adopt a better *method of study*."<sup>n</sup>

By this it appears, that the principal attention of the Venetian painters, in the opinion of Michelangelo, seemed to be engrossed by the study of colours to the neglect of the *ideal beauty of form* or propriety of expression. But if general censure was

<sup>1</sup> This appears to be a wrong position; there can be nothing prejudicial in harmony; grave or sombre colours may be as harmonious as gay colours.

<sup>m</sup> The Danaë, already noticed in this chapter.

<sup>n</sup> Vasari, 'Vita di Tiziano.'

given to that school from the sight of a picture of Titian,<sup>o</sup> how much more heavily and more justly would the censure fall on Paolo Veronese, and more especially on Tintoret! And here I cannot avoid citing Vasari's opinion of the style and manner of Tintoret: "Of all the extraordinary geniuses," says he, "that have practised the art of painting; for wild, capricious, extravagant, and fantastical inventions—for furious impetuosity, and boldness in the execution of his work—there is none like Tintoret; his strange whimsies are even beyond extravagance, and his works seem to be produced rather by chance than in consequence of any previous design, as if he wanted to convince the world that the art was a trifle, and of the most easy attainment. For my own part, when I speak of the Venetian painters, I wish to be understood to mean Paolo Veronese and Tintoret, to the exclusion of Titian; for, though his style is not so pure as that of many other of the Italian schools, yet there is a sort of senatorial dignity about him which, however awkward in his imitators, seems to become him exceedingly. His portraits alone, from the nobleness and simplicity of character which he always gave them, will entitle him to the

<sup>o</sup> Michelangelo may have spoken partly from his acquaintance with Sebastiano del Piombo and his mode of painting: he also was a Venetian painter. Michelangelo must have referred to other Venetian works, or he could not have imputed to the whole school defects which he had observed only in one master.

greatest respect, as he undoubtedly stands in the first rank in this branch of art. It is not with Titian, but with the seducing qualities of the two former, that I could wish to caution you against being too much captivated. These are the persons who may be said to have exhausted all the powers of florid eloquence to debauch the young and inexperienced, and have, without doubt, been the cause of turning off the attention of the connoisseur and of the patron of art, as well as that of the painter, from those higher excellences of which the art is capable, and which ought to be required in every considerable production. By them and their imitators, a style merely ornamental has been disseminated throughout all Europe. Rubens carried it to Flanders, Vouet to France, and Luca Giordano to Spain and Naples."

Other great painters at Verona, contemporary with Paolo Veronese, were Battista d'Angelo, called del Moro, scholar and son-in-law of Torbido; Domenico Ricci, called Brusasorci: and Paolo Farinato, surnamed degli Uberti. Of the assistants and scholars of Paolo, among the most distinguished were his brother Benedetto, and his son Carlo Cagliari, called Carletto; he died young. Gabriele Cagliari, likewise the son of Paolo, was a distinguished painter; but the most eminent of all his followers was Battista Zelotti.<sup>P</sup>

<sup>P</sup> Ridolfi, Zanetti; Lanzi; and Dal Pozzo, 'Pittori Veronesi,' &c.

Before proceeding with the history of the decline of Painting in Italy, it is perhaps necessary to give some account of the rise and progress of the art in Transalpine Europe, where it had likewise advanced to a high degree of development in many respects at a very early period: and apparently independently of the revived art of Italy.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

THE EARLY SCHOOLS OF GERMANY AND THE NETHERLANDS. THE VAN EYCK, 1410-1440.

The obscurity already noticed, concerned the revival of art in Italy likewise overlapped that of the North of Europe. Some evidence of activity in the arts of painting and sculpture in Germany, previous to the revival of the same in Italy, have been already noticed, but they were confined to the first of the period of Gothic architecture. The first of the period of Gothic architecture have been mentioned. The Gothic seems to have been a liberal patron of all the arts, especially of architecture. He built towards the close of the eighth century a magnificent church and palace at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), and sent to Greece and Italy for artists to embellish them. He built also palaces, churches, and hospitals. Aachen was called the second Rome; it was enriched by many works of art.

## BOOK V.

## THE EARLY TRANSALPINE SCHOOLS.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

THE EARLY SCHOOLS OF GERMANY AND THE  
NETHERLANDS. THE VAN EYCKS, 1410-1445.

THE obscurity already noticed, connected with the revival of art in Italy, likewise overhangs that of the North of Europe. Some evidences of activity in the arts of painting and sculpture in Germany, previous to the conquest of Constantinople, have been already noticed, but they are mere isolated facts. The MSS. of the period of Charlemagne have been mentioned. This prince seems to have been a liberal patron of all the arts, especially of architecture. He built towards the close of the eighth century a magnificent church and palace at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), and sent to Greece and Italy for artists to embellish them. He built also palaces at Nymegen and Ingelheim. Aachen was called the Second Rome; it was enriched by many works of ancient

art brought from Ravenna; and in the palace are said to have been paintings of the campaigns of Charles in Spain, sieges of towns, and many other works, allegorical and historical. Ingelheim was constructed on a similarly magnificent scale.<sup>a</sup>

Tuotilo and Notker, the celebrated monks of Saint Gall, have been already noticed;<sup>b</sup> Alfred and Ariram, two Bavarian monks, were perhaps of a still earlier age, of the ninth century. They were the principal artists who embellished the palace of the Emperor Arnulf at Regensburg: Alfred was a priest of the convent of Tegern-see; he is styled in an old writer, quoted by Fiorillo, “Alfridus, presbyter, *et magister cujusque artis*” (master of every art). Ariram, according to another old writer, was the most ingenious man of his age; he was a monk of the convent of Saint Emmeram. A century later Gosbert and Absolon, two monks of Trier, are noticed for their skill in modelling, and perhaps founding: they made a highly ornamented copper basin for the fountain of the refectory of the convent of Saint Maximin; their names were recorded in Latin verses on the base of the basin, in the in-

<sup>a</sup> The early history of the arts of design in Germany is entered into with considerable detail by J. D. Fiorillo in the last four volumes of his ‘Geschichte der Zeichnenden Künste, Mahlerey,’ Göttingen and Hanover, 1798, 1820; they have also the distinct title ‘Geschichte der Zeichnenden Kunste in Deutschland und den Vereinigten Niederlanden.’

<sup>b</sup> Chapter xii.

side of which were representations of frogs, toads, and other amphibia.<sup>c</sup>

The convents of Germany afford other examples of skilful artists, but the earliest evidence of schools of painting, using the term in a wide signification, is in the 'Parcival' of Wolfram of Eschenbach, a poet of the thirteenth century; in which Cologne and Maastricht are noticed, so as to indicate a considerable reputation for their painters.

Some of these painters are known by name, and many extant works have been attributed to them; we know, however, of no painter contemporary with Wolfram of Eschenbach, who, in his 'Parcival,' speaking of the beauty of a knight on horseback, says that no painter of Cologne or Maastricht could have painted a better picture than he appeared:—

Von Chölne noch von Maastricht  
Dechein Sciltere entwurf'en baz  
Denn als er ufem orse saz.<sup>d</sup>

MEISTER WILHELM von Cöln, or William of Cologne, is the oldest known painter of this school, and the oldest German painter to whom existing pictures are attributed. He lived in the latter part of the fourteenth century; and, although his authorship of certain works at Cologne and Munich is merely conjectural, there can be no doubt of his own existence, as it is proved by some authentic documents

<sup>c</sup> The inscription is preserved in Hontheim's 'Prodromus Historiæ Trevirensis.' See Fiorillo, 'Geschichte,' &c., i. ii.

<sup>d</sup> Fiorillo, *l. c.*; Passavant, 'Altkölnische Malerschule,' in his 'Kunstreise durch England und Belgien.'



still extant. In one of these, the Annals of the Dominicans of Frankfort, he is spoken of as the greatest master of his time: it says,—“ In that time, 1380, there was at Cologne a most excellent painter, to whom there was not the like in his art; his name was Wilhelm, and he made pictures of men which almost appeared to be alive.” He appears to have been a native of Herle, a village near Cologne, as he is in some documents called *Wilhelmus de Herle*. He was settled at Cologne with his wife Jutta, as early as 1370. There are several fine old pictures in the Pinacothek at Munich, which are attributed to him, but his principal works are—the picture over the tomb of Cuno von Falkenstein, in the St. Castors-Kirche at Coblenz, painted in 1388; and a large altar-piece in a chapel in the Cathedral at Cologne, formerly in the church of St. Clara, illustrating the history of the Passion of Christ, in many compartments.

Another celebrated painter of this school is MEISTER STEPHAN von Cöln, supposed to have been the scholar of Meister Wilhelm. He was, according to the ‘Tagebuch’ of Albert Dürer, the painter of the celebrated altar-piece in the Cathedral at Cologne, known as the *Dom-bild* (Cathedral picture): it was formerly in the chapel of the Rathaus. This picture was painted in 1410, and is considered the *capo d’ opera* or master-piece of this old school. It consists of a centre and two volets or revolving doors, which close upon it; the picture

itself represents the Adoration of the Kings. On the outside of the doors is a representation of the Annunciation; on the interior sides are the patrons of Cologne, St. Gereon and St. Ursula, with their companions in martyrdom.

There is a great affinity between this school and that of the Van Eycks, nearly contemporary with it in Flanders; Hubert Van Eyck was certainly as old a master as Meister Stephen.

ISRAEL VAN MECKENEN, a distinguished master of the same school, was subsequent to the Van Eycks. He was goldsmith, engraver, and painter, and was probably born at Meckenen near Bocholt, where he was buried in 1503. He is the Meister Israel the painter, mentioned in many old writers. His name occurs in documents at Bocholt, from 1482 to 1498, but exclusively as a goldsmith; that he was an engraver is evident from his signature on prints. The fact of his having been an engraver has led some to argue that he cannot have been the old painter Meister Israel, who is supposed to have flourished before the discovery of engraving; this is, however, an error. Israel the painter is mentioned by Jacob Wympfeling, in his '*Rerum Germanicarum*,' c. 67, '*de Pictura et Plastice*,' where he is styled Israel Alemannus; and this writer speaks of him as of his own time, and as contemporary with Albert Dürer, while he notices Martin Schoen or Schongauer, an excellent engraver, as already dead: he says of him "qui fuit tam eximius"—who

was so excellent. This objection is, therefore, wholly removed, for he evidently writes at a time when engraving was completely established. Wympfeling, further, does not say *picturæ*, or *tabulæ depictæ*, but *icones Israëlis Alemanni*, which may signify prints as well as paintings. Wympfeling's book was published at Strassburg, in 1505, only two years after the death of Israel Van Meckenem. If the works attributed to this painter, in the Pinacothek, at Munich, were really by him, he must be reckoned among the best masters of that age, for they are certainly not inferior to the works of any of the early masters of Germany.\*

The works of this school, which are to be seen chiefly at Cologne and Munich, and are generally upon gold grounds and upon panel, are all remarkable for the richness of their colouring and the careful detail of their execution. Though painted in water-colours, or *tempera*, they have the effect of oil paintings, or indeed few oil paintings have so good an effect as these works have; their *impasto* appears to be perfect. With respect to higher qualities of art, their weakest part is the design, especially in the extremities, which recall to mind the curiosities of the contemporaries of Cimabue; many of the heads, however, are distinguished for a true nobility of expression, worthy of any age and

\* See a more detailed account of this and the two preceding painters by the writer of this essay, in the 'Supplement to the Penny Cyclopædia.'

of any master. The subjects are exclusively religious, and relate chiefly to the earliest history of the Church. Single figures of saints are common; active and complicated scenes likewise occur, but they exhibit only a very remote approximation to the real drama.<sup>f</sup>

A still more celebrated school than this of Cologne, and little subsequent to it in point of time, was established by HUBERT VAN EYCK, at Bruges in Flanders, a city which, through its connection with the introduction of the new method of oil painting, holds a very prominent position in the history of art.

Whether Hubert was connected with the school of Cologne is not known, but possibly he was. Van Mander fixes his birth in the year 1366, and he appears to have been born at Eyck (now Alden Eyck), a small village near Maaseyck on the Maas. He was established first at Bruges, and eventually at Ghent.

JOHN VAN EYCK, the younger brother by many years of Hubert, has, through the circumstance of his having taught the method to Antonello of Messina, obtained the reputation of being the inventor of oil painting, a title which doubtless belongs to his brother Hubert. Antonello, who was acquainted

<sup>f</sup> Some of the works of Meckenen and other early masters of this school have been beautifully drawn in lithography by Strixner, and very effectively tinted in imitation of the originals.

only with, and instructed by John, would naturally report John as the inventor of the method in Italy; Vasari would of course repeat the common report, and through the few words said by Vasari on this subject, John Van Eyck is everywhere proclaimed as the inventor of oil painting (Van Mander copied Vasari); that Hubert, however, has a much better apparent claim to the title is evident from what follows.

In the first place John was nearly thirty years younger than his brother, who was born perhaps of a different mother. This is inferred from various evidence; Hubert died, aged about sixty, September 18, 1426; and John died, still young, twenty years later, according to Marcus Van Vaernewyck, in his history of Belgium, published in 1565. This is corroborated by the portraits of Hubert and John in the museum of Berlin, in which John appears to be about thirty years of age; and there is about thirty years' difference between the two brothers; they are both painted on one of the wings or doors of the celebrated altar-piece of the Adoration of the Lamb, in St. Bavon at Ghent; which wing is now in the museum of Berlin. Whether Hubert's portrait was painted before his death or not, is of little consequence; he appears to be about sixty years of age in this picture: John's was probably painted at the same time, but if much after the death of Hubert, the disparity of their ages must have been greater than would appear by the

picture. John's was, however, painted probably not later than 1430; the whole picture was finished in 1432, by John, six years after the death of Hubert.

From the above facts, therefore, John may have been born about the year 1395, and not earlier. According to this assumption, he was as much as fifty years old when he died, which can hardly be called young, though he may have been in the full vigour of manhood at that time. Youth, however, is relative; a very old man might consider a man of even fifty young.

John is said to have died in 1445, because, though alive in that year, he is known to have been dead before February 24, 1446; this is shown by a lottery notice of his widow.<sup>5</sup>

Van Mander fixes the discovery of the Van Eycks' new method at about the year 1410, when John was, from what has been stated above, about fifteen years of age, and Hubert forty-four, one a boy, the other a master of reputation. The whole of the upper part of the Adoration of the Lamb, which comprises all the larger figures, was done by Hubert, who was thus evidently complete master of the method; here, therefore, again the circum-

<sup>5</sup> De Bast, 'Messenger des Sciences et des Arts,' Gand, 1824; and the 'Kunstblatt,' 1826. See also Passavant, 'Kunstreise,' &c., and Rathgeber, 'Annalen der Niederländischen Malerei Formschneide und Kupferstecherkunst. Von den Brudern Van Eyck bis zu Albrecht Dürers anwesenheit in den Niederlanden,' Gotha, 1842.

stances are in favour of Hubert, as it is more likely that the youth was taught by the painter than that the painter was taught by the youth. Lastly, in the inscription on the work the chief merit is given to Hubert, John being mentioned as the completer of the work, and as the second in art; Hubert being declared without an equal in the world.

The following is the inscription, the last line being what is termed a Chronogram, the Roman capitals added together making, according to their value as numerals, the date 1432, the year in which the picture was fixed in its place:—

“ Pictor Hubertus e Eyck, major quo nemo repertus  
 Incepit; pondusque Johannes arte secundus  
 Frater perfecit, Judoci Vyd prece fretus  
 VersV seXta MaI Vos CoLLoCat aCta tVer I.’<sup>h</sup>

This celebrated altar-piece, of which only a portion is now in the church of St. Bavon at Ghent, consisted originally of a centre with double folding doors or wings on each side, the whole being divided into two rows, making ten pictures on the inside, but, the upper centre being in three compartments, there were in all twelve different subjects visible when the folding wings were thrown back; the outsides of the doors were likewise painted, with

<sup>h</sup> The picture was painted for Judocus Vyd. M. Michiels, in his ‘*Peintres Brugeois*,’ terms this “barbarous inscription” a mere compliment paid by the younger to the elder Van Eyck. If so, he appears to have taken the opportunity of paying himself a compliment likewise. Many inscriptions might be disposed of in this way.

representations of John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, the Angel Gabriel and the Virgin Mary, and portraits of Judocus Vyd and his wife; and the Cumaean and Erythraean Sibyls. The two last figures were the upper centre and immediately above the wings containing Gabriel and the Virgin, representing the Annunciation. The altar-piece itself, or the interior representations, are as follow:—the actual Adoration of the Lamb, in small figures, occupies the lower centre; in the three compartments above it are in large figures God the Father, and the Virgin Mary on his right hand, and John the Baptist on the left: the Deity is represented in the pontifical robes of the Roman Church. On the two wings of this row to the right, are angels singing, and Adam; on the two to the left, angels playing musical instruments, and Eve; on the two wings of the lower row to the right, are the Just Judges, and the Soldiers of Christ; to the left, the Holy Hermits and the Holy Pilgrims.<sup>1</sup> The two central panels are all that now remain of this work in the church of St. Bavon at Ghent; the two wings on which Adam and Eve are painted are still preserved at Ghent, though not with the rest of the picture; the remaining six wings are in the museum at Berlin. The celebrated copy of it which was made by Michael Coccie, for Philip II. of Spain, is likewise dispersed in various galleries. Coccie was

<sup>i</sup> There are outline prints of this altar-piece in Passavant's 'Kunstreise,' &c.



so particular in copying this picture, that he solicited Philip to procure him some ultramarine, as, he said, there was none to be had in Flanders good enough ; Philip wrote to Titian, who sent him some, and Coxcie used over the drapery of the Madonna alone a quantity to the value of thirty-two ducats. The copy was finished in 1559, after the labour of two years ; and Coxcie received 4000 florins for his work.

The works of the Van Eycks are not exempt from the stiff angular design and hard cutting outlines which characterize generally the art of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. They are also conspicuous for extraordinary detail, and bear the impress of having been executed with much slow and careful labour. The specimen of John Van Eyck in the National Gallery is as fine an example of the characteristics and excellences of his style, as is to be seen anywhere. It exhibits a perfect understanding of objective truth of representation ; and shows also a high appreciation of the pictorial value of perspective and accidental appearances.

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## CHAPTER XXIV.

## OIL PAINTING, THE SCHOOL OF THE VAN EYCKS.

THE new method of painting, or rather the new colouring medium discovered by the Van Eycks, has been frequently mentioned. What the medium was is not known; but to distinguish it from the common method previously in use, it is sufficiently distinguished by the general though vague term of oil painting; it was, however, literally varnish painting. Oil painting in the strict sense of the term was neither a mystery nor a novelty in the time of Hubert Van Eyck: sufficient has been already said on this subject, where Tuotilo or Theophilus, and Cennini, are spoken of.<sup>a</sup> The work of Theophilus is conclusive; that of Cennini is not so, as it was written twenty-seven years after the common date assigned to the discovery in question: but no fixed date can be assigned to it.<sup>a</sup>

Vasari, who is the only or principal authority for this piece of history, speaks only generally; but yet he is sufficiently particular to explain that the Van Eyck medium was a compound of resins or resin with oils; and though in some passages he merely

<sup>a</sup> See chs. xii. and xiv.

alludes to the discovery in the general term of oil-painting, he never meant to convey the simple idea of oil painting, but in speaking of a time when nearly all works were painted in distemper, the general term *oil-painting* was, after what he had already said, sufficiently descriptive of the new method. The Cavaliere Tambroni, in his preface to Cennini's book, has disingenuously argued against the general expression of Vasari—*oil-painting*, showing, what it was easy to show, that *oil-painting* was known before Van Eyck's time, and, by the evidence of Cennini, practised in Italy at least at the commencement of the fifteenth century, if not earlier; and he accordingly treats the whole account as a fable, never once referring to the only passage in Vasari which should be at all adverted to in an argument on the subject. This passage is—"At last, having tried many things, separately and compounded, he discovered that linseed and nut-oils were the most siccative: these, therefore, he *boiled with other mixtures*, and produced that *varnish* which he, and indeed every painter in the world, had long desired." This passage occurs in the Life of Antonello of Messina, who made a voyage from Naples to Bruges in about the year 1442, to learn with what medium John Van Eyck produced the wonderful impasto of his works. It is worth noting that Vasari in this passage calls the medium or vehicle a varnish, from which, some resin was

evidently one of its compounds. The whole passage clearly shows that Vasari did not contemplate ever being misunderstood or misrepresented as he has been.

The Germans were in the habit of painting in oil before Hubert Van Eyck, as we have seen. The method seems to have been common among them, and the oil painting taught by Cennini was this German method, for he prefaces his remarks on the subject of oil painting with the following words:—"I will now teach you to paint in oil, a method much practised by the Germans." The oil which Cennini recommends is linseed oil, which has been thickened in the sun; he describes boiled linseed oil as inferior to this, which for every pound of oil must have one ounce of liquid varnish (*vernice liquida*),<sup>b</sup> some resinous gum. Though not probable, it is possible that Cennini alludes to the Van Eyck medium; Cennini had apparently painted in oil himself, from the minuteness with which he describes the various processes.

According to Vasari, the Van Eycks' method was made known in Italy in the following manner: Antonello, a young painter of Messina, saw in the possession of the King Alfonso I. of Naples, about the year 1442, when he was twenty-eight years of age, a picture of the Annunciation by John Van Eyck, or Giovanni da Bruggia, as Vasari calls him; and being struck with the beauty of the

<sup>b</sup> Trattato, c. 91.

impasto, set out immediately for Bruges in order to discover by what means it was produced. He obtained the secret from John Van Eyck, and remained several years in Flanders until he had mastered the process. He returned to Italy probably not long after the death of Van Eyck, and about 1450, or a few years afterwards, paid his first visit to Venice, where he communicated the secret to Domenico Veneziano, who was, on account of its possession, murdered by Andrea Castagno at Florence in about the year 1463, after that painter had obtained it from him.

Antonello settled at Venice about the year 1470, and there appears to have spread a knowledge of the new method. There is a picture painted by Antonello at this time in the museum of Antwerp, representing the Crucifixion between the two Thieves, signed—1475, Antonellus Messaneus me O° pinxt—the O° signifying apparently Oleo.<sup>c</sup> The picture is painted on a small panel of wild chesnut; it is in the style of the Van Eyck school,

<sup>c</sup> Some Flemish writers have asserted the date of this picture to be 1445, and presumed it a proof that Antonello was still residing in Flanders at that time. This may be a fact; but the date of the picture is 1475, as the writer can testify, having carefully examined it with a Coddington lens: September 13, 1846. This lens magnified the figures, scarcely visible to the naked eye, to more than a quarter of an inch in length. The inscription is written upon a white ground: the figures do not appear to have been in any way tampered with, nor could it be to the interest of any party to convert the 45 into 75.

but is inferior to the works of John Van Eyck in execution. Antonello died at Venice about 1493 or 1496.

The principal scholar of John Van Eyck was ROGIER VAN DER WEYDE of Brussels, called by Vasari Rogier of Bruges—Ruggieri da Bruggia. He is termed by the French, Maitre Rogel, and was the painter of the celebrated altar-piece which the Emperor Charles V. used to carry about with him ; it is now in the collection of the King of Holland at the Hague. It is composed of a centre and two doors, measures when open about four feet wide by two high, and represents the Nativity of Christ, his taking down from the cross, and his apparition to the Virgin Mary after his resurrection. The master-piece, however, of this painter is a similar work on a much larger scale, representing the Last Judgment, in the hospital at Beaune in Burgundy ; it measures about eight feet in height and eighteen in width. It was painted apparently before 1447, and was presented to the hospital by the founder Nicolas Rollin. Four likewise of his most celebrated works were the remarkable acts of Justice, painted on canvass in the town-hall of Brussels. Rogier was painter to the city of Brussels. These pictures are now lost.<sup>d</sup> The museum of Berlin possesses the adoration of the Magi by Van der Weyde, which was originally painted for the church of Middelburg, built in his own time, by Pieter

<sup>d</sup> Michiels, 'Les Peintres Brugeois.'

Bladelin. Rogier died at Brussels, June 16, 1464,<sup>o</sup> aged upwards of sixty, and was buried in the church of Saint Gudule. Van der Weyde, according to Van Mander, greatly reformed the Flemish style of design; he divested it considerably of its Gothic rigidity. He was a great master of expression, and his heads are often much softer than those of Van Eyck's, though his general outline is on the whole more cutting. He is said to have been at Rome in the year 1450, and to have been much struck with the excellence of the works of Gentile da Fabriano. He painted in distemper and in oil; and was the first to paint on fixed canvases for the decorations of apartments; he appears also to have been the first to prefer canvas to panel to paint upon.

Other distinguished painters of this school were Gerard Van der Meire, and Hugo Van der Goes. HANS OR JAN MEMLING,<sup>f</sup> however, is the most celebrated painter of this early Flemish school, after John Van Eyck. He was, according to some accounts, the pupil of Van der Weyde. Memling was born about 1430, in what place is not known, but probably Bruges; his pictures range in their dates from 1450 to 1499. Remarkably few facts are known concerning this painter; he is said to

<sup>o</sup> Michiels, *l. c.*; Van Mander committed, apparently, the error of assigning the date and circumstances of the death of Quinten Metsys to Rogier Van der Weyde.

<sup>f</sup> Regarding the spelling of this painter's name, see the writer's notice of him in the 'Supplement to the Penny Cyclopædia.'

have served Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, both as painter and as warrior; and to have been at the battles of Granson and Morat. He was admitted in 1477, exhausted by wounds and fatigue, into the hospital of Saint John at Bruges, became one of the brothers of the hospital, and appears to have resided many years in it; probably up to the year 1493, when he is supposed to have gone to Spain. In Spain, a Juan Flamenco (John the Fleming) finished some paintings for the Carthusian convent of Miraflores near Burgos, in the year 1499, and is said to have died shortly afterwards in that convent. This Juan, it has been conjectured, was Hans Memling. It is somewhat remarkable that though there are in Europe at least a hundred pictures attributed to Memling, it is neither known where or when he was born, nor where or when he died. As he was a brother of the Hospital of Saint John, it is presumed that he was born either at Bruges or at Maldeghem, a place in the neighbourhood, as by provision of its foundation none but inhabitants of these two places could be admitted into this Hospital.

Among the most remarkable productions of Memling is the celebrated *Châsse de St. Ursule*, or relic-case of St. Ursula, in the above-mentioned hospital. It is of a Gothic design, and is embellished on every side by miniature pictures in oil, illustrating the history of Ursula and her attendant virgins: the colouring is extremely beautiful, and



all the compositions are dramatic and agreeable, and executed with as much taste as care.<sup>8</sup> In this hospital there are likewise other admirable works by Memling, as the Marriage of St. Catherine, painted in 1479, which is one of the finest paintings of the fifteenth century : it has two revolving wings, which are painted on both sides. But probably the most extraordinary of all this painter's productions is the wonderful picture at Munich, representing the Joys and Sorrows of the Virgin ; and the Journey of the Three Kings from the East. This extraordinary picture is said to contain altogether about fifteen hundred figures and objects ; all is elaborately, and much is beautifully painted. The principal act in this complicated drama is the Adoration of the Kings ; but Memling, instead of painting merely the Epiphany or the Adoration, has represented the Kings in every stage of their journey, from the leaving their homes to the actual Adoration ; and even the territories of the Kings are indicated, with their towns and palaces, elaborately painted, in the extreme distance. The whole panel, six feet long by two and a half high is nearly one mass of life, and yet there is nowhere confusion ; the view comprises an immense tract of country, and as the point of sight is fixed very

<sup>8</sup> This shrine has been made the subject of a special dissertation by Baron von Keversberg—'Ursule, Princesse Britannique, d'après la Légende, et les Peintures d' Hemling ;' see also 'Notice des Tableaux qui composent le Musée de l'Hôpital Civil de S. Jean,' à Bruges, 1842.

high in the picture, the whole lies as it were at the spectator's feet. Everything is exactly represented, all is brilliantly coloured, and many of the figures are admirably drawn and modelled. Representations of the principal Joys and Sorrows<sup>h</sup> of the Virgin occupy the foreground: the figures range in size from about one to six inches. Memling was a great *miniature*, or miniature painter; his illumination of MSS. has been already noticed.

This school of art continued in the Netherlands with but little variety until the sixteenth century, when great changes were effected by the Flemish artists who had studied in Italy, after the production of the great works by Raphael and Michelangelo at Rome. The character of the art of Germany was of a kindred quality, and was in part derived from this early school of the Netherlands.

<sup>h</sup> The principal Joys and Sorrows of the Virgin were—  
Joys—1. The Annunciation; 2. The Visitation; 3. The Nativity; 4. The Adoration of the Kings; 5. The Presentation in the Temple; 6. Christ found by his Mother in the Temple; 7. The Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin.

The Sorrows were likewise seven:—1. The Prophecy of Simeon (Luke ii. 35); 2. The Flight into Egypt; 3. Christ while disputing with the Doctors in the Temple, missed by his Mother; 4. Christ Betrayed; 5. The Crucifixion, with the Virgin and St. John only, present; 6. The Deposition from the Cross; and, 7. The Ascension of Christ, the Virgin being left on Earth.

See the 'Speculum Salvationis,' Augsburg ed.; and the 'Hand-book of Painting,' Editor's Preface, p. xx., where other series of religious representations are described.

The principal representatives of the school were—in Holland, Dierick Stuerbout, Lucas van Leyden, and Jan de Mabuse; in Flanders, Quinten Metsys.

DIERICK STUERBOUT, or Dirk van Haarlem, as he is also called, is the earliest distinguished painter of Holland, and is not second to any of the painters of the Netherlands. In point of design, subsequent painters were far from equalling the excellence of Stuerbout, who is in this respect very conspicuous, though in the only known works by him extant the figures are of the natural size. The paintings alluded to are two in the collection of the King of Holland at the Hague; they were painted for the council-hall at Louvain in 1468, and Dierick was paid 230 crowns for them. These pictures are called in the catalogue of the gallery at the Hague, the first and second pictures of the Emperor Otho and the Empress Mary. They illustrate a remarkable event which took place in 985. The story is recorded in the Chronicles of Louvain, and is known as the Golden Legend. The emperor, Otho III., while at Modena, on his return from a journey to Rome, condemned to death one of his courtiers, an Italian Count, upon the accusation of the Empress Mary that he had attempted her honour during the emperor's absence; the accusation was however false; she had attempted in vain to seduce the Count, and pursued this course out of revenge. The

Count was beheaded ; but his widow, confident in his innocence, threw herself at the feet of the emperor, with the head of her husband in her arms, and holding in her hand a red-hot bar of iron with impunity, supplicated him for justice. The emperor, convinced by the fire-ordeal, an infallible proof, determined to make what reparation he could, and ordered the empress to be burnt at the stake.

From this story Stuerbout painted these two large pictures, measuring about six feet wide by eleven high. In the first the emperor is listening to the accusation of the empress, and the count is being led out in his shirt to execution, which is represented in the back-ground. In the second the widow is kneeling before the emperor with the head of her husband on her left arm, and the hot bar of iron in her right hand ; and in the distance of this piece the empress is being burnt at the stake : in both pictures are various attendants. These paintings were fixed on the wainscoting of the justice-hall at Louvain ; and by each was a panel containing an explanation of the subjects in the Flemish language and in gold Gothic letters. Being in a very dirty state and exposed to decay, they were purchased by the late King of Holland in 1827, were long in the palace of the Prince of Orange at Brussels, and in 1841 were placed in the royal gallery at the Hague. Stuerbout is mentioned by Vasari as *Diric da Lovanio* : he resided some time at Louvain, and painted other

pictures there besides the two above noticed : he died at an advanced age about 1470.<sup>i</sup>

LUCAS VAN LEYDEN was a painter of great ability and perseverance, but he introduced a very affected style of design, and gave his figures a coquettish air, which injures the effect of his works. Lucas was the pupil of Cornelius Engelbrechtsz, a distinguished master, and in his twelfth year was both an engraver and painter of reputation. He painted in distemper, in the year 1506, a picture of St. Hubert, for a citizen of Leyden, who was so astonished at the excellence of the work that he gave Lucas twelve gold pieces for it, one for each year of his age ; he was born in 1494. The greatest excellences of Lucas in painting are his colouring and his aërial perspective ; but though one of the best of the old Dutch painters, he was more celebrated in his own time as an engraver. Vasari speaks of the prints of Luca d'Ollanda, 'as he is called by the Italians. Some of his engravings are among the greatest rarities of print collectors ; his Eulenspiegel, a notorious clown of the fourteenth century, is the rarest print extant ; there are not more than half-a-dozen of the original impressions, but copies are numerous ; the earliest is that engraved by Hondius in 1644, when the original was even

<sup>i</sup> De Bast, 'Messenger, &c.' 1833 ; Passavant, 'Kunstreise, &c.,' in which one of the pictures is engraved ; see also the article STUERBOUT in the Supplement to the Penny Cyclopædia.

then worth fifty ducats. Lucas however, though an excellent engraver for his time, is not to be compared with Albert Dürer or Marcantonio, who were both contemporary with him. He executed also some cuts in wood. Albert Dürer visited Lucas at Antwerp in 1521, and his journal contains the following note of the circumstance—“I was invited to dinner by Master Lucas, who engraves in copper: he is a little man, and is a native of Leyden.” This visit was paid while Lucas was on a journey through Zealand, Flanders, and Brabant. He had JAN DE MABUSE with him as a companion, in a sloop fitted up at his own expense. The two painters were clad more like princes than artists; they committed many extravagances and indulged in a round of dissipation, which ruined the health of Lucas. He entertained the artists of Middelburg, Ghent, Antwerp, and Mechlin, with public feasts; that at Middelburg cost him sixty florins, doubtless a very large sum at that time, 1521. Lucas died in 1533, aged only 39.<sup>k</sup>

Mabuse died in the previous year; but he was about twenty years the senior of Lucas. He had

<sup>k</sup> Van Mander, ‘Het Leven der Schilders;’ Bartsch, ‘Catalogue Raisonné de toutes les Estampes qui forment l’Œuvre de Lucas de Leyde;’ Van Eynden and Vander Willigen, ‘Geschiedenis der Vaterlantsche Schilder-Kunst, &c. ;’ and the writer’s article LUCAS VAN LEYDEN, in the Supplement to the Penny Cyclopædia, which contains a more particular account of Lucas and his works.

visited Italy, and England, where he was employed by Henry VII. The picture of this King's family, at Hampton Court, is by Mabuse. There are several other pictures at Hampton Court, attributed to Lucas van Leyden and Mabuse. The latter used to generally sign himself Joannes Malbodius.

QUINTEN METSYS, the Smith of Antwerp, where he was born in 1450, is in every respect one of the most extraordinary painters of this period, both in his personal history and for the diligent labour of his elaborate works. The great altar-piece in the museum of Antwerp is one of the wonders of its age. It consists of a centre and two folding wings; in the centre is represented the Taking down from the Cross, a composition of many figures; on the left wing, Herodias brings the head of John the Baptist to Herod, on the right is the Martyrdom of St. John the Evangelist, who was boiled in oil. The figures are of the natural size. This picture was painted in 1508 (the year that Raphael went to Rome) for the Carpenters of Antwerp, for the small sum of 300 florins, only enough to pay for five such dinners as Lucas van Leyden gave the painters of Middelburg, in 1521. Philip II. of Spain offered large sums for it in vain; and Queen Elizabeth of England is said to have been likewise refused at the enormous sum of 64,000 florins. It was eventually in 1577 purchased by the magistracy of Antwerp for 1500 florins, and placed in the

cathedral. There is a very celebrated picture by this painter at Windsor, representing Two Misers. That Quinten turned from the anvil to the easel, to obtain the hand of a beautiful girl he was in love with, is well known—*Connubialis amor de Mulcibre fecit Apellem*. These words are written on his monument erected to him at Antwerp one hundred years after his death, which happened in the Capuchin convent of that city in 1529.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Van Mander, 'Leven der Schilders, &c.,' ed. 1764; Van Fornenberg, 'Leven van Quinten Matsys,' Antwerp, 1658.



## CHAPTER XXV.

## ALBERT DÜRER AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES.



Virgin and Infant Christ.—Albert Dürer.

THE school of the Van Eycks appears to have had an immediate influence upon the schools of Germany, at Ulm, Colmar, Nürnberg, and other places. The earliest distinguished master of these schools was MARTIN SCHONGAUER, commonly called Martin Schoen. He was born at Ulm, in the early part of the fifteenth century. He appears to have been originally an engraver, and to have first turned

much of his attention to painting, after a visit to the Netherlands, where he dwelt some time, and chiefly at Antwerp: he is called by the Italians Martino d' Anversa. From a letter of Lambertus Lombardus to Vasari, in 1565, it is inferred that he was a scholar of Rogier Van der Weyde.<sup>a</sup> He appears to have settled at Colmar, in about 1470, and was the founder of a school of painting there: where also his principal works are still preserved. He died at Colmar, in 1488.<sup>b</sup> Martin's pictures are similar in style to those of the old Flemish school, but he does not equal his reputed master Van der Weyde; he is, however, accounted the best German painter of the fifteenth century; his engravings also, though crude in light and shade, are among the best of the early productions of this class.

Schoen is said to have been the master of Albert Dürer; but Albert did not visit Colmar until after Martin's death.

ALBRECHT DÜRER was born at Nürnberg, in 1471, and in 1486 was placed with Michael Wolgemuth, the most distinguished painter and engraver at Nürnberg of that time: there is a portrait of him by Albert in the Pinacothek at Munich, painted in 1516, Michael's eighty-

<sup>a</sup> Gaye, 'Carteggio Inedito d'Artisti,' ii. 177.

<sup>b</sup> Waagen, 'Kuntswerke und Künftler in Deutschland;' Passavant, 'Beiträge zur Kenntniss der alten Malerschulen Deutschlands,' in the Kunstblatt for 1846.

second year. Wolgemuth and Pleydenwurff cut in wood the illustrations of a curious old work in folio, known as the 'Nürnberg Chronicle;' it was written by Hartmann Schedel, a physician, who died, however, before its completion in 1485. It was published in Latin, in 1493, under the title 'Liber Chronicorum per viam Epitomatis et Breviarii compilatus.' A German translation appeared in the following year. The cuts consist of views of towns and portraits of eminent men. Albert Dürer soon became the most celebrated master of his time, north of the Alps; and his reputation reached even to the "Eternal City." The great painter of Rome sent some drawings to Albert, and received from him something by his hand in return. One of these drawings by Raphael is still preserved at Vienna, in the collection of the Archduke Charles. It represents two naked male figures drawn in red chalk, a back and a side view; they are studies from the life. On this drawing is written in Albert's own handwriting, "1515, Raphael of Urbino, who has been so highly esteemed by the Pope, drew these naked figures, and sent them to Albrecht Dürer, in Nürnberg, to show him his hand."<sup>c</sup>

Fuseli,<sup>d</sup> who alludes to this exchange of drawings,

<sup>c</sup> "1515, Raffahill di Urbin der so hoch peim Papst geacht ist gewest, hat diese nackete Bild gemacht, und hat sy dim Albrecht Dürer gen Nornberg geschickt, In sein hand zu weisen," Passavant, 'Rafael, &c.'

<sup>d</sup> Works, vol. iii. p. 265.

conjectures that Raphael, by transmitting this specimen of his hand to Albert intended to make the latter sensible of the difference between imitating nature and drily copying a model.

Albert Dürer had visited Venice in 1506; his journey to the Netherlands, in 1521, has been already noticed. He painted a picture of the Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew, or rather of the Coronation of the Virgin, while at Venice; and he remarks in a letter to his friend Pirkheimer—“They (the Venetian painters) abuse my style, and say that it is not after the antique, and therefore, that it is not good.”<sup>e</sup> Albert admired the works of John Bellini, and said that he was the best painter in Venice; Bellini was then eighty years of age. Dürer died at Nürnberg in 1528.<sup>f</sup> This celebrated German artist was painter, sculptor, and engraver, and, according to the inscription on his tomb, without a rival in either art—*Artium lumen, sol artificum — pictor, chalcographus, sculptor, sine exemplo.* As a painter he belongs to the quattrocento schools; he is not more free from the characteristic Gothic hardness of the

<sup>e</sup> Von Murr, ‘Journal zur Kunstgeschichte,’ vol. x. p. 7. This volume contains eight letters to Pirkheimer.

<sup>f</sup> Arend, ‘Das Gedchniss der ehren, &c.,’ ‘Albrecht Dürers, &c.,’ Gosslar, 1728; Heller, ‘Das Leben und die Werke Albrecht Dürers,’ Leipzig, 1831, the second volume only, the first is not published; Kugler, ‘Handbuch der Geschichte der Malerei in Deutschland,’ &c.; Nagler, ‘Künstler Lexicon.’

fifteenth century than any other of the most distinguished of his contemporaries who designed in a similar style; his pictures are also strong and positive in colour. He is, however, greatly distinguished by his powers of invention, which are nowhere better illustrated than in his various designs for woodcuts. Of these there are three great series—the Apocalypse: the Life of the Virgin; and the History of Christ's Passion. The first is in sixteen cuts, and was published in 1498; the second is in twenty, and was published in 1511; the History of the Passion appeared about the same time. Many of these designs display great powers of invention and composition. It was, however, as an engraver on copper that Albert excelled chiefly; some of his heads in this style are executed with an almost unrivalled delicacy and precision. The Venetian painters, from Albert's own account, allowed that he was a good engraver, but denied his ability in painting, upon which he painted a picture to convince them of their error, and adds that all praised its beautiful colouring.

Albert had during his youth considered florid and varied colouring the chief excellence of painting, and this he very much regretted when he grew old and learnt to look at nature as she appears; he then found that simplicity was the highest ornament of art; and his early works often made him lament his error, as he was then become too old to profit

by his better knowledge. Some of his pictures made him sigh when he looked upon them—"dicebat se jam non esse admiratorem operum suorum ut olim, sed saepe gemere intuentem suas tabulas, et cogitantem de infirmitate sua." Such was the complaint that Albert himself made to Melanchthon.<sup>f</sup>

The principal followers of Albert Dürer, who like himself were both painters and engravers, were, Aldegrever, Hans Scheuffelein, Barthel and Hans Sebald Beham, Altdorfer, and Burgkmair.<sup>g</sup>

LUCAS CRANACH of Saxony was his contemporary, and was little inferior in reputation to Albert himself.

Lucas Sunder, commonly called from his birth-place Lucas Cranach, resided chiefly at Wittenberg, where he lived in great distinction. He was painter to the Elector Frederick the Wise, with whom he visited Palestine in 1493. He was an intimate friend of Luther's; whose portrait he painted several times.

Cranach died at Weimar in 1553, in the eighty-first year of his age. He was in colour and laborious detail of execution one of the most remarkable painters of his time; but in elegance of design, unity of effect, and in

<sup>f</sup> 'Epistolæ Ph. Melanchthonis, &c.,' Ep. 47, p. 42; 'E. apud Epist. D. Erasmi Roterom. et Ph. Melanchth. &c.,' London, fol. 1642; quoted by Füssli, Kugler, &c.

<sup>g</sup> The 'Supplement to the Penny Cyclopædia' contains notices of all these painters by the writer of this Essay.

composition, his taste was strictly Gothic : his masterpiece is the mystical Crucifixion in the church of Weimar. He was a good portrait-painter, and excelled in painting animals : he was likewise a good miniature painter ; there are some manuscript illuminations by him.

HEINRICH ALDEGREVER was born at Soest, in Westphalia, and acquired so much of Albert's style as to be called Albert of Westphalia ; he is chiefly distinguished as an engraver. His prints range from 1522 to 1562.

HANS SEBALD BEHAM is likewise distinguished chiefly as an engraver. He was a native of Nürnberg, but was forced, it is said, on account of the obscenity of some of his prints, to leave that place. He settled in Frankfort, but apparently without any intention of reform ; he opened a wine-shop and brothel, and is reported to have been drowned by the authorities about the year 1530. Hüsgen<sup>h</sup> says it was the practice to condemn various kinds of criminals, and among them pimps, to be drowned ; he cites Lersner's 'Chronik.'

BARTHEL or BARTHOLOMAUS BEHAM, the brother of Hans Sebald, was one of the best painters of this school. He was the pupil of Albert, and gave so much promise of excellence that the Duke Wilhelm of Bavaria sent him to study in Italy,

<sup>h</sup> 'Artistisches Magazin,' 1790.

where he died in 1540, in the prime of life. His picture of the Resuscitation of a woman by touching her with the cross, now in the Pinacothek at Munich, is one of the most remarkable productions of the early German masters. Barthel is said by Sandrart to have assisted Marcantonio in his prints after Raphael.<sup>1</sup>

ALBRECHT ALTDORFER was born at Altdorf, in Bavaria, in 1488. He is equally distinguished as painter and engraver in copper and in wood; but in the latter part of his life he appears to have been more exclusively occupied in painting. Some of his pictures show prodigious patience: there is a picture by him in the Pinacothek at Munich, dated 1529, which represents Alexander's Battle of Arbela. It contains a countless mass of small figures, all dressed in the German military costume of Albert's own time, and every object is defined with the most accurate minuteness of detail; it is, however, designed with a perfect disregard of perspective, ærial and linear. This picture was formerly in the gallery of Schleissheim, and was taken by the French to Paris. Napoleon was so delighted with it that he had it hung up in his bath-room at St. Cloud, where it remained until 1815, when it was returned with the other foreign works collected during the war in the Louvre.

<sup>1</sup> Sandrart, 'Academia Todesca,' or 'Teutsche Academie der edlen Bau Bild und Mahlery Kunste,' &c., 4 vols. folio, Nürnberg, 1675-79. Sandrart is the German Vasari.



Altdorfer is one of the best of the so-called German "little masters," from the smallness of their prints and cuts; he is second only to Albert Dürer of this school, as an engraver in wood; the French call him *le petit Albert*. The woodcuts are the best of his prints; they are supposed to have been engraved by himself. Whether Albert Dürer ever cut in the wood is a matter of dispute.<sup>k</sup> Altdorfer died about the year 1548.<sup>l</sup>

HANS BURGKMAIR was rather the contemporary than follower of Albert Dürer, though he was doubtless influenced by him. Burgkmair is particularly distinguished for his wooden cuts: the *Triumph of the Emperor Maximilian*, in 135 large cuts, executed in 1519, is one of his most popular works in this class. The various cuts attributed to Burgkmair amount to about 700.<sup>m</sup>

JOST AMMAN was another remarkable artist of this school, though a Swiss by birth. He was established at Augsburg, and is chiefly distinguished for his woodcuts, which, according to some accounts, amount to upwards of a thousand; they comprise almost every subject. One of his most remarkable works is *Πανοπλία*; it is a description of all the

<sup>k</sup> See the 'Treatise on Wood Engraving, &c., with Illustrations by John Jackson.'

<sup>l</sup> Heineken, 'Dictionnaire des Artistes, &c.,' Bartsch, 'Peintre Graveur.'

<sup>m</sup> See the 'Treatise on Wood Engraving,' already quoted, which contains copies of some of Burgkmair's cuts.

principal trades and occupations of Amman's time, and contains 115 illustrations on wood of various mechanics and tradesmen in appropriate costume: Amman himself is represented as the engraver. The book is very scarce; it was published first at Frankfort, in 1564, and second and third editions appeared in 1574 and in 1588. Hans Sachs used the cuts for his work 'Eigentliche Beschreibung aller Stände auf Erden,'—Particular Description of all Ranks upon the Earth: it was printed at Frankfort, in 1568 and 1574.

Augsburg was already distinguished for its school of painting at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Holbein was a native of Augsburg, according to some accounts, but his youth was spent in Switzerland, and the remainder of his life in England. The principal painter of Augsburg of this period was CHRISTOPHER AMBERGER: he is supposed to have been the scholar of Hans Holbein the elder, and to have imitated the style of the younger Holbein. He painted in distemper and in oil; and in the former method is said to have executed some very successful works on the exteriors of houses at Augsburg. When Charles V. visited Augsburg in the year 1532, he sat to Amberger, and was so much pleased with the portrait when finished, that he presented the painter with a gold chain and 36 rix-dollars, three times the price asked by Amberger, and Charles observed that it was as good a picture as the one for which

he had paid Titian 100 rix-dollars. The portrait by Titian alluded to was painted at Bologna in 1530. There is a portrait of Charles by Amberger in the gallery of Berlin with the date 1532, which is probably the picture in question. Amberger died at Augsburg in 1568, aged seventy.

Towards the close of the sixteenth century, the peculiar character of German art was lost in the general imitation, real and imaginary, of the great Italian masters, which from that time commenced unopposed to influence all the Transalpine schools of Europe. Georg Pentz and Heinrich Goltzius were among the first of the Germans who attempted the anatomical style of design. These first efforts, according to Fuseli, arose probably through the circulation of Marcantonio's prints after Raphael; and "ere long," he observes, "the style of Michelangelo, as adopted by Pellegrino Tibaldi, and spread by the graver of Georgio Mantuano, provoked those caravans of German, Dutch, and Flemish students, who on their return from Italy, at the courts of Prague and Munich, in Flanders and the Netherlands, introduced that preposterous manner, the bloated excrescence of diseased brains, which in the form of man left nothing human, distorted action and gesture with insanity of affectation, and dressed the gewgaws of children in colossal shapes; the style of Goltzius and Spranger, Heynz and Ab Ach: but though content to feed

on the husks of Tuscan design, they imbibed the colour of Venice, and spread the elements of that excellence which distinguished the succeeding schools of Flanders and of Holland."

This frantic pilgrimage to Italy ceased at the apparition of the two meteors of art, Peter Paul Rubens and Rembrandt Van Rhyn.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Lecture II.



Christ mocked.—Albert Dürer.

## BOOK VI.

DETERIORATION OF PAINTING THROUGH THE  
ASCENDANCY OF THE SENSUOUS DEVELOP-  
MENT OF ART.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

DETERIORATION OF PAINTING AT ROME AND  
FLORENCE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

THE accession of Adrian VI. (who was a Dutchman) to the Papal chair, for a time paralysed the arts; he was wholly indifferent to them. The extravagance and worldliness of his predecessors had reduced the temporal and spiritual affairs of the Papal State and Church to a state of ruin and disorder beyond remedy. The great schism in the Church was rapidly increasing; and Adrian, who has the character of having been a conscientious man, was too much occupied by the anxieties of his high office to turn any attention to the pursuits and enterprises of his worldly predecessors.

In the year 1527, however, a much greater calamity happened to the arts of Rome, in the sack of the city by the soldiers of Charles V., under Bour-

bon,<sup>a</sup> when the great school of Raphael was dispersed over Italy. Giuliano de' Medici (Clement VII.) was then Pope: he was a man of a very different character from Adrian; and when Rome had somewhat recovered from the excesses of that memorable year, affairs began to assume their usual course previous to the accession of Adrian, and costly undertakings in art were again commenced. Clement VII. ordered the completion of the decorations of the Sistine Chapel, and the Last Judgment by Michelangelo was commenced a few months before the death of this Pope. His successor Paul III. was equally desirous of the prosecution of the picture, which was at length finished, after a lapse of eight years in its progress, during the reign of that Pope. This great work, however, appears to have contributed chiefly to hasten the decline of the art. Hosts of copyists and mannerists arose, who, possessed, from this great example, with a mania for representing the naked human figure, sacrificed almost every beauty, quality, and motive, to the paramount desire of anatomical display; and apparently imagining the perfection of design to consist in violent action and muscular protuberance, imitated only the *manner*, while they persuaded themselves that they had acquired the *art*, of Michelangelo.

The picture of the Last Judgment found many

<sup>a</sup> Benvenuto Cellini, in his autobiography, gives a circumstantial account of some of the incidents of this barbarous invasion; see also Vasari, 'Vite,' &c.

disapprovers even in the lifetime of Michelangelo, and the chief objection to it was its nudities. Other weightier objections have been made to it since; a want of appropriate sentiment and dignity being the most common objection. The Richardsons' opinion constitutes a summary of the condemnatory criticisms which have been passed upon it:—"The Vault is, I think, better than the Judgment,<sup>b</sup> which is full of shocking improprieties and absurdities, though some of these have been corrected since by other hands, by covering with draperies what was most offensive. But the wrong manner of thinking in other respects could not be so easily altered, unless by demolishing the whole work. There is indeed a great variety of attitudes of a human body, in which is seen profound skill in anatomy, as the authors who so extravagantly commend this picture say. This would have been a good character for a drawing-book, but it is a very improper one for such a subject as the Last Judgment."<sup>c</sup>

<sup>b</sup> This extract proves Platner ('Beschreibung der Stadt Rom,' i. p. 503, note) to be wrong, when he says that Carstens and other Germans were the first in modern times to assert the superiority of the paintings of the Vault over the Last Judgment.

<sup>c</sup> An account of Statues, &c., 1722, p. 270. Daniele da Volterra painted some of the draperies alluded to, in the life-time of Michelangelo, who had declined to do it. Paul IV. was then Pope, and he threatened, in consequence of this refusal, to destroy the whole picture; the affair was, however, finally accommodated by Daniele, a favourite scholar of Michelangelo; but he went afterwards by the nickname of

This corrupt taste, which may be termed the anatomical, prevailed both at Rome and Florence some years before the death of Michelangelo, who therefore may be said to have outlived the style which he himself had created; and he who in the time of Julius II. had himself been chiefly instrumental in raising painting to the high degree which it attained in the pontificate of Leo X. lived to see it degenerate, greatly through his own influence, into a mere handicraft in the time of Pius IV.

The most distinguished painters of this period, whose style was a compound of those of Michelangelo and Raphael, without the correctness or purity of the latter, and with only the manner of the former, were TADDEO and FEDERIGO ZUCCHERO. Taddeo died in 1566, aged thirty-seven, and was buried near Raphael in the Pantheon. Federigo had a long and great career, not only in Italy but in other European countries. He executed some vast works in the Cathedral of Florence, but they were distinguished for their vastness alone. He succeeded Girolamo Muziano as president of the Academy of St. Luke at Rome, which had been lately founded by Gregory XIII., chiefly at the instance of Muziano. This academy was, however, not completely established until 1595, after the death of Muziano, and when Zucchero returned from Spain, in the pontificate of Sixtus V. Fedebraghettone (*breeches* or *breeches-maker*).—'Beschreibung von Rom,' ii. 1, 293.



rigo died in 1609, at Ancona, aged sixty-six. He left writings on the arts, which, according to Lanzi, are full of bombast and pedantry; and he adds that, instead of instruction, they present a mere tissue of undigested speculations; and that all that Zucchero wrote, put together, is not worth one page of Vasari.

Taddeo was a superior painter to his brother. His principal works are the frescoes of the palace of Caprarola, painted for Cardinal Alessandro Farnese and illustrating the glories of the Farnese family.<sup>d</sup>

The principal contemporaries of the Zuccheri at Rome were—Girolamo Siciolante of Sermoneta, Marcello Venusti, and Livio Agresti, all scholars of Pierino del Vaga; also Scipione Pulzone, called Gaetano, the scholar of Giacompo del Conte, who were both excellent portrait painters.

Yet though the great works of Michelangelo were executed at Rome, they influenced chiefly the painters of Florence, who were not, like those of Rome, restrained in their imitation of Michelangelo by any veneration for the genius of Raphael. What has been called the anatomical style was therefore much more palpable and predominant at Florence than at Rome. Matter prevailed over mind generally with the painters of this period.

<sup>d</sup> Sebastiani, 'Descrizione e Relazione Istorica del real Palazzo di Caprarola,' Rome, 1741. The paintings were engraved in 45 plates by J. J. Prenner, Rome, 1748-50. See the article on the Zuccheri in the 'Penny Cyclopædia.'

ANDREA VANNUCCHI, called DEL SARTO from the trade of his father, who was a tailor, must be accounted among the contemporaries, not the followers, of Michelangelo. He was the pupil of Piero di Cosimo. Though Andrea, from his early admiration and study of the Cartoon of Pisa, acquired the peculiar characteristics of Michelangelo's style of design, the subject or motive of his works took precedence of the mere outward forms of art. He died in 1530, aged only forty-two.

Andrea is chiefly distinguished for his Holy Families in oil; but he painted also several extensive works in fresco. In light and shade and colour he appears to have been an imitator of Fra Bartolomeo. The Madonna del Sacco (so called from the sack which Joseph is reclining on), a celebrated work by Andrea, is a portion of the frescoes of the Convent of the Santissima Annunziata at Florence, in which there are also some other excellent works by this painter.<sup>6</sup> The scholars of Andrea appear to have been much less led away by the prevailing bad taste of the time than the majority of their Florentine contemporaries. The principal of these were—Marc Antonio Franciabigio, Jacopo Caracci, commonly called Pontormo from the place of his birth, and Domenico Puligo. The works of Il

<sup>6</sup> Vasari, 'Vite de' Pittori,' &c.; Biadi, 'Notizie inedite della Vita d'Andrea del Sarto, raccolte da manoscritti e documenti autentici,' Florence, 1830

Rosso also, called Maitre Roux by the French, were a worthy exception to the generally corrupt taste of the period. The most distinguished masters of this age and school were Sebastiano del Piombo; Daniele Ricciarelli da Volterra; Giorgio Vasari; Francesco Granacci; Marcello Venusti and Federigo Zuccherò, already noticed; Francesco Rossi de' Salviati; Jacopo del Conte; Angelo Bronzino; and Alessandro Allori; all painters of great fame. The three first mentioned require a more particular notice.

FRA SEBASTIANO DEL PIOMBO<sup>f</sup> was a native of Venice, but is chiefly distinguished as the companion and imitator of Michelangelo, to whom the designs of some of his best pictures are attributed. Such is the report concerning the Lazarus, in the large picture of the Resurrection of Lazarus in the National Gallery. Michelangelo, indeed, is said to have designed this picture, and to have induced Sebastian to paint it in oil in competition with the Transfiguration of Raphael. Sebastian was correct in his design, an excellent colourist, and was one of the greatest portrait painters of his own or any other age. There is probably no portrait in the world that can be compared for dignity and grandeur with the half-length figure by Sebastian of

<sup>f</sup> Del Piombo, that is, of the leaden seals; the bearer of the leaden seals was an officer of the Papal court. Sebastiani's family name was Luciani. Biagi, 'Sopra la Vita ed i Dipinti di Fra Seb. Luciani soprannominato Del Piombo,' in the 'Ateneo di Venezia,' vol. i. 1827.

Andrea Doria, now in the Doria Palace at Rome. Sebastian died at Rome, where he principally resided, in 1547, in his sixty-second year.

DANIELE DA VOLTERRA was perhaps the greatest of Michelangelo's followers. His fresco of the Taking down from the Cross, in the church of the Trinità de' Monti, is reckoned one of the finest pictures in Rome, being classed with the Transfiguration by Raphael, the Communion of St. Jerome by Domenichino, and other celebrated works.<sup>g</sup> Daniele was more correct in design than Michelangelo; yet though his women, says Mengs,<sup>h</sup> have more grace, they are ugly; but his draperies were even worse than Michelangelo's; and he was also wholly deficient, says Mengs, in chiaroscuro. He died at Rome in 1567, aged fifty-eight.

GIORGIO VASARI, of AREZZO, the great historian of Italian art, was likewise a companion of Michelangelo's, and was completely an imitator of his style in design. He executed vast works at Florence, and was also much engaged elsewhere, but he was a great mannerist, though his design is generally

<sup>g</sup> This picture has been often engraved. It is still in the church of the Trinità de' Monti, but not in the chapel in which it was originally painted. It was transferred from the wall to canvass by Pietro Palmaroli in 1811, being the first fresco that was so transferred. This difficult process is described in the article FRESKO in the 'Supplement to the Penny Cyclopædia.' Platner, 'Beschreibung der Stadt Rom,' iii. 3. 385.

<sup>h</sup> 'Werke,' Halle, 1786, vol. i. p. 234.

good and occasionally dignified. His present reputation is exclusively owing to his valuable collection of biographies of the most celebrated Italian artists, down to his own time. This work is the chief source of our information concerning the rise and progress of art in Italy.<sup>i</sup> Vasari died at Florence in 1574, aged sixty-two, and was buried at Arezzo.

<sup>i</sup> 'Vite de' più eccellenti Pittori, Scultori, e Architetti.' An English translation of this work, with a selection from the notes of all the Commentators and original notes, is in course of preparation by the writer of this essay: the time and method of its publication depend upon circumstances at present beyond the translator's control.

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## CHAPTER XXVII.

THE ECLECTIC SCHOOL OF THE CARRACCI AT  
BOLOGNA. ABOUT 1595.

WHILE various styles prevailed at Rome, Florence, Parma, and Venice, a school of painters arose at Bologna, who, wholly pleased with none of the styles which prevailed at these several great seats of art, attempted to establish a new style which should combine the excellences of all. The founders of this bold attempt were Lodovico and his two cousins Agostino and Annibale Carracci.

Bologna had already a distinguished school in the time of the Carracci; the characters of the Florentine, Roman, and Parmese schools had their successful representatives at Bologna. Bagnacavallo and Innocenzo da Imola propagated the principles of the Roman school there.

BARTOLOMEO RAMENGGHI, called Bagnacavallo, may be considered as the founder of the second Bolognese school, the first closing with Francia, and the third beginning with the Carracci.

Bagnacavallo was one of the principal assistants of Raphael in the Vatican, and after that great master's death carried his principles to Bologna. He was one of the most devoted worshippers of Raphael, and maintained that more was to be

learned from Raphael than from nature herself, inasmuch as men of ordinary ability must be content of necessity to learn mediately through higher geniuses. He died at Bologna in 1542, aged fifty-eight.<sup>a</sup>

Bagnacavallo has derived much of his importance in the history of Bolognese painting from his having instructed Primaticcio and Pellegrino Tibaldi, the two greatest masters of the second period of the art alluded to.

FRANCESCO PRIMATICCIO was born at Bologna in 1490, and after studying some time under Bagnacavallo he repaired to Mantua, and became the scholar and assistant of Giulio Romano. He remained here six years, and obtained such celebrity by his works, that he was invited by Francis I. to Fontainebleau to continue the decorations commenced by Il Rosso. Primaticcio, both from his own works and the antiques and casts from the antique which by Francis's orders he brought to France, may be considered the founder of the French school of art. Il Rosso committed suicide in 1541,<sup>b</sup> and Primaticcio went about the same year to France. Rosso was a Florentine imitator of Michelangelo, and was one of the boldest of the Italian painters; but

<sup>a</sup> Barruffaldi, 'Le Vite de' piu insigni Pittori e Scultori Ferraresi,' Ferrara, 1846. This work was used by Lanzi in MS.

<sup>b</sup> See the article Rosso DE' ROSSI, in the 'Supplement to the Penny Cyclopædia.'

the paintings which he executed at Fontainebleau were the greater part destroyed by Primaticcio to make room for his own works. Primaticcio's frescoes were chiefly executed by Niccolo dell' Abate, who is said to have derived his surname from the title of this painter, who was made abbot of St. Martin, near Troyes, by Francis I. ; but Tiraboschi has shown that his family name was Abati. Primaticcio died in France in 1570. His style was somewhat similar to that of Giulio Romano, and was compounded of the Roman and Florentine styles, and was distinguished also for some of the characteristics of the remains of ancient sculpture.

NICCOLO DELL' ABATE, so conspicuously mentioned in the well-known sonnet of the Carracci, was a native of Modena, where he was born in 1512. He studied the works of Correggio, and the followers of the Roman school ; and, according to some critics, attained a nearer approximation to the style of Raphael than any other painter. Few, however, of his works now remain. After having obtained considerable reputation at Bologna, he went in 1552, by the invitation of Primaticcio, to France, where he remained until his death in 1571. Niccolo was one of the most skilful fresco painters, but of his numerous works in this method the following only remain :—Those from the *Æneid*, in the Scandiano Palace at Modena ; some conversation pieces and concertos in the Institute, and a Nativity under a portico in the Leoni Palace at



Bologna; and a symbolical picture in the Via di San Mamolo in the same city.<sup>c</sup> Algarotti discovered in the picture of the Nativity the symmetry of Raphael, the nature of Titian, and the grace of Parmigiano.<sup>d</sup>

PELLEGRINO TIBALDI, called by the Carracci Michelangelo Riformato, the reformed Michelangelo, was born at Bologna in 1527: his father was a Milanese mason, settled at Bologna. After staying a short time with Bagnacavallo, he went in 1547 to Rome, to study the frescoes of the Sistine Chapel, and spent three years there.

Tibaldi, doubtless, made good use of his stay in Rome; but whether he improved upon Michelangelo could only be debated by one who looked exclusively at the externals of art. The title of Michelangelo Riformato appears to reflect some discredit on the judgment of the Carracci; but it is not inconsistent with the general tenor of their principles. Fuseli has questioned more particularly Tibaldi's right to this title. He says,<sup>e</sup> "I will not do that injustice to the Carracci to suppose that for one moment they could allude, by this verdict, to the ceiling and the Prophets and Sibyls of the Capella Sistina: they glanced, perhaps, at the technic exuberance of the Last Judgment,

<sup>c</sup> The Modena frescoes are engraved by Gajani: the Nativity by Gandolfi; and the other Bolognese frescoes are engraved in the work of Zanotti, 'Delle Pitture di Pellegrino Tibaldi, e Niccolo Abbati, estenti nell' Instituto di Bologna.' Venice, 1756.

<sup>d</sup> 'Lettere sopra la Pittura.'

<sup>e</sup> Lecture XI.

and the senile caprices of the Capella Paolina. These, they meant to inform us, had been pruned, regulated, and reformed by Pellegrino Tibaldi. Do his works in the Institute warrant this verdict? So far from it, that it exhibits little more than the dotage of Michelangelo. The single figures, groups, and compositions of the Institute, present a singular mixture of extraordinary vigour and puerile imbecility of conception, of character and caricature, of style and manner. The figure of Polyphemus groping at the mouth of his cave for Ulysses, and the composition of *Æolus* granting to Ulysses favourable winds, are striking instances of both. Than the Cyclops, Michelangelo himself never conceived a form of savage energy, provoked by sufferings and revenge, with attitude and limbs more in unison; whilst the god of Winds is degraded to the scanty and ludicrous semblance of *Thersites*, and Ulysses, with his companions, travestied by the semi-barbarous look and costume of the age of Constantine or Attila."

Tibaldi was certainly an artist of great activity; he was as celebrated as an architect as he was as a painter. After distinguishing himself in both capacities at Ancona, he was called in 1562 to Pavia, by the celebrated Carlo Borromeo (afterwards canonized), and built for him there the Palazzo della Sapienza. From Pavia he went to Milan, where he built the church of San Fedele; and he was, in 1570, appointed architect to the cathedral. The present façade was built from his design.

In 1586 Tibaldi was invited by Philip II. to Spain to decorate the Escorial, which had then been completed two years; it was commenced by Juan Bautista de Toledo in 1563, and was finished by Juan de Herrera in 1584. Philip was so well pleased with the first works executed by Tibaldi that he ordered the frescoes which had been already painted by Luca Cambiaso and Federigo Zuccherò to be knocked down to make room for others by Tibaldi; and these frescoes are his most celebrated works. They are thus described by Cumberland in his 'Anecdotes of Eminent Painters in Spain:—“The figures are models of correctness, and drawn in a free and masterly style, with great attention to truth and nature. In these paintings (in the lower cloister) he has treated the subjects of the Purification, the Flight into Egypt, the Slaughter of the Innocents, Christ in the Temple, the Temptations in the Wilderness, the Election of the Apostles, the Resurrection of Lazarus, the Expulsion of the Money-changers out of the Temple, and the various passages of the Passion and Resurrection of the Saviour, with other subjects of sacred history. The cloister is of the conventual sort, sad and gloomy, neither very spacious nor lofty. It was, when I saw it, very uncleanly; and I found it in the same condition upon repeated visits. The frescoes have received great injury, not only from time and climate, but from actual violence and notorious want of care. Their effect,

in my opinion, is by no means pleasing, whether owing to the cause above mentioned, or to the dry, harsh uniformity of the colouring, of a red and bricky hue, unrelieved by any accompaniment or compartment, and the sizes disproportionate to the cloister, which, as I before observed, is neither lofty nor wide. I have no doubt they would make a conspicuous figure as engravings, and the date of their existence might be thereby prolonged; but that, I conceive, will reach its final period without reprieve of this or any other sort.

“Several paintings of Pellegrino are to be seen in the great church, particularly a St. Michael, with the Fall of the Angels, a Martyrdom of San Lorenzo, and two very grand compositions of the Nativity and Adoration, which he executed to replace those of Zuccherò on the same subjects, which Philip had rejected.

“But what, above all things else, establishes his reputation in Spain, is the ceiling of the Library. In this composition the painter has personified the Arts and Sciences in different compartments, the four Doctors of the Church, with several eminent ancient philosophers—Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and Seneca, accompanied with all their proper attributes and insignia, interspersed with many beautiful groups of children, and figures in the nude, supporting the cornice and festoons in various postures and foreshortenings, of grand force and expression, in the style of Michelangelo, in perfect drawing and admirable perspective.”

Tibalbi, after a stay of nine years in Spain, returned to Milan with the title of Marquis, and richly rewarded for his works. He died at Milan, about the year 1600.<sup>f</sup>

Such, with Parmigiano, are the painters from whom the Carracci were induced to select the qualities of their Eclectic style; for Agostino and Annibale were, at the commencement of their career, unacquainted with the works of the originators of the beauties which they professed to imitate. Before opening their celebrated school, however, they visited Parma and Venice, and became familiar with the works of Correggio and Titian; but it was only mediately, through the works of the masters above mentioned, that they could demonstrate their principles to their scholars. The St. Cecilia of Raphael was not, and could not have been, taken as a standard of the style of that great master. Lodovico is the real founder of the Bolognese school; he was the guide and instructor of his cousins, who were some years his juniors.

LODOVICO CARRACCI was born at Bologna in 1555, and was the pupil of Prospero Fontana. He visited Parma, Mantua, Venice, and Florence, where he studied some time with Passignano, a painter about Lodovico's own age, who had visited Venice, and was endeavouring to reform the corrupt taste of the Florentine school of his period.

<sup>f</sup> Malvasia, 'Felsina Pittrice;' Cean Bermudez, 'Dictionario Historico,' &c.

From the characteristics of these various schools Lodovico conceived the idea of selecting the beauties of each, and combining them to form a perfect style. Whether any such scheme was at once devised by him, or whether it developed itself gradually, is immaterial; it was eventually matured, and Agostino illustrated it in the following sonnet, in which the peculiar beauty of each master is conceived to be accurately defined:—

Chi farsi un buon pittor brama e desia,  
 Il disegno di Roma abbia alla mano,  
 La mossa coll' ombrar Veneziano,  
 E il degno colorir di Lombardia.  
 Di Michelangiolo la terribil via;  
 Il vero natural di Tiziano;  
 Di Correggio lo stil puro e sovrano,  
 E di un Raffael la vera simmetria.  
 Del Tibaldi il decoro e il fondamento,  
 Del dotto Primaticcio l' inventare,  
 E un po di grazia del Parmigianino:  
 Ma senza tanti studi e tanto stento,  
 Si ponga solo l' opre ad imitare  
 Che qui lascioci il nostro Niccolino.<sup>s</sup>

This sonnet, certainly, as Lanzi has observed, more pictorial than poetical, may be thus rendered:—“He who wishes to be a good painter, let him acquire the design of Rome, Venetian shade and action, and the dignified colouring of Lombardy; the terrible manner of Michelangelo, the natural truth of Titian, the sovereign purity of Correggio's style, and the true symmetry of a Raphael; the decorum

<sup>s</sup> Niccolo dell' Abate.

and fundamental knowledge of Tibaldi, the invention of the learned Primaticcio, and a little of Parmigiano's grace: but without so much toil and study, he need only imitate the works which our Niccolino has left us here."

Fuseli has treated this painter-recipe with some severity. He says, "I shall not attempt a parody of this prescription by transferring it to poetry, and prescribing to the candidate for dramatic fame the imitation of Shakspeare, Otway, Jonson, Milton, Dryden, Congreve, Racine, Addison, as amalgamated by Nicholas Rowe. Let me only ask whether such a mixture of demands ever entered with equal evidence the mind of any one artist, ancient or modern; whether, if it be granted possible that they did, they were ever balanced with equal impartiality; and grant this, whether they ever were or could be executed with equal felicity? A character of equal universal power is not a human character, and the nearest approach to perfection can only be in carrying to excellence one great quality with the least alloy of collateral defects. To attempt more will probably end in the extinction of character, and that in mediocrity—the cipher of art."<sup>h</sup>

By Roman design, the works of ancient sculpture are probably meant; and it is worthy of note that the Lombard school is designated as the model of colouring, while that of Venice is selected for its

<sup>h</sup> Lecture XI.

treatment of light and shade. The Lombard painters alluded to were most probably Luini, Gaudenzio Ferrari, and others of that school, who are distinguished only for strong positive colouring. On the whole, therefore, this sonnet appears to be wanting in critical acumen, independent of its impracticability and mere technical tendency. It is, however, hardly to be supposed that Agostino imagined any man would look upon it as a grave precept. Agostino's poetical and theoretical propensities were always offensive to Annibale; this is evident from what he says on the subject in his letter to his cousin from Parma, already quoted. However, this sonnet sufficiently explains the Eclectic principle of the school.

AGOSTINO CARRACCI, the elder of the two brothers, was born at Bologna, in 1559;<sup>i</sup> their father was a tailor. Agostino was first placed with a jeweller, but by the advice of Lodovico decided upon becoming a painter, and he studied successively under Prospero Fontana, Domenico Tibaldi, and Cornelius Cort, who taught him engraving. In 1580 he followed his brother Annibale to Parma; he spent also some years at Venice; and returned to Bologna in 1589, in which year the cousins opened their celebrated school. Agostino was long the most active teacher in this school; he was fond of discoursing on art; he was a great theoriser.

<sup>i</sup> See the inscription from his tomb at Parma, in Bellori's 'Vite de' Pittori, &c.'



He is allowed to have been the most learned of the Carracci in the principles of art. Malvasia says he was more correct than his cousins; than Annibale, always; than Lodovico, sometimes. He joined Annibale at Rome, in the year 1600, when Annibale was engaged on the Farnese frescoes, and assisted him in these works.<sup>j</sup> They, however, finally quarrelled, and Agostino left Rome for Parma, where he died in 1602, in his forty-third year: he was buried in the Cathedral of Parma, but his funeral was celebrated with great pomp by the painters of Bologna.

ANNIBALE CARRACCI, who was born at Bologna, in 1560, was intended by his father for his own business of a tailor, but his cousin Lodovico succeeded in making a painter of him also. Annibale appears to have had no other master than Lodovico. After studying for two or three years the works of Correggio, at Parma, he visited Venice, and returned some time before Agostino to Bologna.

From 1589 to 1600 the three cousins appear to have been all actively engaged in superintending their celebrated school. They at first met with much opposition from the painters of the old school, among whom the Fleming, Denis Calvart, was one

<sup>j</sup> The two cartoons by Agostino Carracci in the National Gallery were made for two of the chief compartments of the ceiling of the Gallery in the Farnese Palace. See 'Argomento della Galleria Farnese dipinta da Annibale Carracci, disegnata ed intagliata da Carlo Cesio,' Rome, 1657. Reprinted in the 'Felsina Pittrice' of Malvasia.

of their most obstinate opponents ; Bartolomeo Cesi and Prospero Fontana were likewise strongly opposed to what they termed the new style. All detraction, however, appears to have been put an end to by the celebrated frescoes of the Carracci in the Magnani Palace. Calvart himself had established a famous school at Bologna, and rivalled Squarcione in the number of his scholars, but his school was wholly superseded by that of the Carracci, though some of their most distinguished scholars had first studied with Calvart ; this was the case with Domenichino, Guido, and Albani. Calvart was born at Antwerp, in the same year as Lodovico Carracci, and they both died in the same year, 1619.

In 1600, as already mentioned, Annibale went to Rome by the invitation of the Cardinal Odoardo Farnese, and commenced the celebrated Farnese Gallery, which he completed in four years ; he was, however, assisted, as observed, by Agostino, and by Domenichino and Lanfranco. These frescoes appear, from the letter of Annibale's intimate friend Monsignore Agucchi, to have been completed in 1604 ; and he executed no extensive work after this time. The frescoes of the chapel of San Diego in the church of San Giacomo degli Spagnuoli were executed by Albani from Annibale's designs. Agucchi, in the letter alluded to, and in which he sends the news of Annibale's death to Lodovico, states that Annibale scarcely painted anything during the last five years of his life : he died July

15, 1609. It would appear from this, that the common story about his being engaged for eight years on the Farnese frescoes is unfounded; and the statement about his receiving only 500 scudi as his reward for them is equally without foundation. When Annibale went to Rome, the Cardinal, says Bellori, received him as a gentleman, and granted him the usual allowance of a courtier for himself and two servants: he also assigned him a salary of ten scudi per month. The 500 scudi which he received at the completion of the work were a present, and Annibale's contemporary Baglione mentions them as such.<sup>k</sup> Annibale Carracci was buried near Raphael in the Pantheon.

After the departure of his cousins, Lodovico conducted the school at Bologna, alone. In 1602 he also visited Rome, but he left it abruptly to be present at the celebration of his cousin Agostino's funeral, having stayed in Rome only fourteen days, from May 31 to June 13.<sup>l</sup> After his return from Rome he executed a great series of frescoes for the convent of San Michele in Bosco, which were generally considered his master-pieces. They have long since perished, but the designs are preserved in the prints after them by Giovannini.<sup>m</sup>

<sup>k</sup> Malvasia, 'Felsina Pittrice;' Bellori, 'Vite de' Pittori;' Baglione, 'Vite de' Pittori.'

<sup>l</sup> Malvasia, 'Felsina Pittrice.'

<sup>m</sup> 'Il Claustro di San Michele in Bosco, &c.,' with descriptions by Malvasia, Bologna, 1694.

Lodovico died in the close of the year 1619, and his death is said to have been in a measure due to the disappointment he experienced in discovering some errors in the frescoes of the Annunciation in the cathedral of Bologna, after the removal of the scaffolding, when it was too late to correct them.

There is a higher feeling in the works of Lodovico than in the works of his cousins. But these productions generally tend to represent the mere form of art as the ultimate end of the painter. The Farnese frescoes at Rome are eminently of this class: they are mere coloured forms, and have no ulterior purpose beyond that of giving pleasure, or exciting the sensation of objective magnificence: they are not higher in their aim than the works of the Venetian school, and they do not attain them in execution. They are superior in form, but inferior in the accomplishment of their only obvious purpose. These frescoes were however preferred by N. Poussin to all the works in Rome after those of Raphael: with respect to style, they are doubtless among the finest works of modern art.

In the works of Lodovico, and especially his oil pictures, there is a sombre dignity which elevates him quite above the school which he has the credit of having founded. The effects, however, of the eclecticism of the Carracci is rather to be looked for in the works of their pupils than in their own. Sir Joshua Reynolds gives Lodovico a high character. He says—"Style in painting is the same

as in writing, a power over materials, whether words or colours, by which conceptions or sentiments are conveyed. And in this Lodovico Carracci, I mean in his best works, appears to me to approach the nearest to perfection. His unaffected breadth of light and shadow, the simplicity of colouring, which, holding its proper rank, does not draw aside the least part of the attention from the subject, and the solemn effect of that twilight which seems diffused over his pictures, appear to me to correspond with grave and dignified subjects better than the more artificial brilliancy of sunshine which enlightens the pictures of Titian: though Tintoret thought that Titian's colouring was the model of perfection, and would correspond even with the sublime of Michelangelo, and that if Angelo had coloured like Titian, or Titian had designed like Angelo, the world would once have had a perfect painter."<sup>n</sup>

<sup>n</sup> Discourse II.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

## THE CARRACCESCHI : ACADEMIC STYLE.

THE influence of the Carracci was spread, through their distinguished scholars, throughout Italy, and assisted greatly to suppress the corrupt taste which had prevailed at Florence and elsewhere, for upwards of half a century, through the indiscreet imitation of Michelangelo and Raphael, but more particularly the former. The works of Barocci and Cigoli had already created rival schools; but all were alike eclipsed by the Academic school of the Carracceschi. The first half of the seventeenth century is characterised by the growth and establishment of the principle that a uniform attention to the *means* of art is the true system by which art is to be cultivated, and this is the principle upon which all modern academies are directed. The Academic is the true designation of the Carraccesque school, and Eclecticism, which is mere materialism, though not professedly, is still practically taught in public academies. If art is to be taught in academies at all, the principles should be made as prominent as the practice, and if not on this, it is difficult to say on what system it is to be taught. "Genius," it has been often said, "begins where

rules end ;” but where there is no genius, nothing but uniform academic mediocrity, “the cipher of art,” as Fuseli terms it, can be attained. Italy, in the time of the Carracceschi, may be said to have been one great academy, and it became the nursery of the uniform mediocrity which has characterised the art of Europe for the two subsequent centuries.

When academies became numerous, the Academic style, from its great prevalence, naturally became the goal of rising aspirants, as by it alone honour was to be obtained ; and thus it has lain for ages like an incubus on the genius of art. Oral instruction is too much neglected in academies ;<sup>a</sup> if this powerful means were properly applied, it would invariably act as a corrective to the mere material tendency of the practical exercises in art. No subsequent academy has been so successful as that of the Carracci, and in this we know that much of the instruction was due to the discourse of Agostino, its most active teacher ; Annibale was purely practical. The opposite character of the two brothers is well illustrated by an anecdote told by Bellori,<sup>b</sup> which we will quote in the words of our excellent critic, Richardson :—

<sup>a</sup> Lectures might perhaps as well be altogether suspended as limited to six in a year, as they are at the Royal Academy of London. Students should attend two or three lectures every week, to derive much benefit from them.

<sup>b</sup> ‘Vite de’ Pittori, &c.’ p. 9.

“Agostino Carracci, discoursing one day of the excellency of the ancient sculpture, was profuse in his praises of the Laocoon; and observing his brother Annibale neither spoke nor seemed to take any notice of what he said, reproached him as not enough esteeming so stupendous a work. He then went on describing every particular in that noble remain of antiquity. Annibale turned himself to the wall, and with a piece of charcoal drew the statue as exactly as if it had been before him; the rest of the company were surprised, and Agostino was silenced; confessing his brother had taken a more effectual way to demonstrate the beauties of that wonderful piece of sculpture. ‘*Li poeti dipingono colle parole, li pittori parlano con l’ opere,*’ said Annibale,—Poets paint with words, painters speak by works.”

Annibale was perfectly right, supposing he merely wished to show what the Laocoon was, but Agostino was speaking of a work of art well known to those whom he addressed and was discoursing on its excellences. Viewing the matter in the light of instruction on excellence in art, the advantage was greatly on the side of Agostino: put a print in his hand, and he combines the faculty of Annibale with his own; but, on the other hand, if mere example is sufficient, the greatest instructor in art is the hired cicerone who conducts the visitor through the chambers of the Vatican. Annibale himself confessed that he had learnt to appreciate the



Flagellation of St. Andrew by Domenichino, from the observations of an old woman (quoted below) who was explaining the picture to her child.<sup>c</sup>

The greatest of the pupils of the Carracci were Domenichino, Guido, Albani, and Lanfranco.

Of these, DOMENICO ZAMPIERI, commonly called DOMENICHINO, born at Bologna in 1581 or 1582, is generally allowed to hold the first rank. Domenichino and Guido competed together at Rome in the church of San Gregorio, and though at first there appears to have been doubt as to the superiority of the two works, that of Domenichino was soon allowed to be superior. Annibale's opinion was decided by the observations of an old woman, as already observed. When he was asked his opinion previously, he answered rather vaguely—that Guido appeared to be the master and Domenichino the scholar, but that the scholar knew more than the master. The two pictures were St. Andrew going to Martyrdom, and the Flagellation of St. Andrew; they were painted in fresco on the opposite sides of the same chapel. That of Guido is a somewhat confused crowd, and is simply an ornamental work; that of Domenichino is a real drama, and we will quote the instructive words of Annibale, and at the same time of the old woman who confirmed him in his opinion. "Look!" said the old woman, to the child she led by the hand, "look, how furiously that man

<sup>c</sup> Bellori, 'Vite, &c. : Domenichino,' p. 181.

raises the scourge to strike ; and look at that other, how savagely he threatens the saint with his finger ; and that one, how tight he is pulling the cords round his feet : and look at the saint himself, with what faith he looks upwards to heaven." Having said these words, she sighed, and then turned to the picture of Guido, and standing a moment before it, she left the church without speaking another word. From this scene Annibale was satisfied that Domenichino's was the greater work of art : in many cases the opposite might have been the just conclusion. Neither of these works, however, can be accounted among the master-pieces of those two celebrated painters.

The most celebrated picture by Domenichino is the Communion of St. Jerome in the church at Bethlehem, now in an apartment of the Vatican, and placed opposite to the Transfiguration by Raphael. In this picture, says Bellori, he adopted the treatment of Agostino Carracci, one of whose most celebrated pieces is a picture of the same subject. The saint, an emaciated old man, is supported on his knees, before the altar, and is on the point of receiving the sacrament from the administering priest ; various attendants are present, and above is a group of angels. The figures are simply arranged, and are highly expressive and natural in their attitudes : the colouring is rich and harmonious, the light and shade effective, and the design and execution have the characteristic

excellences of the best productions of the Bolognese school. This picture, for which Domenichino received only fifty scudi (about ten guineas), was accounted by Andrea Sacchi and Nicolas Poussin one of the very finest paintings in Rome, both masters comparing it with the Transfiguration of Raphael.<sup>d</sup> Another work in which Domenichino has displayed his fine taste in drawing and colouring is the fresco of the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian, formerly in the chapel of St. Sebastian in St. Peter's, but now in the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli at Rome: a mosaic is substituted in its place in St. Peter's. The fresco was removed from the wall, with the plaster on which it was painted, in 1736, by Francesco Zabaglia.

Domenichino died at Naples in 1641, not without suspicion of having been poisoned. He was much persecuted by his rivals at Rome and Naples.<sup>e</sup>

GUIDO RENI, commonly called GUIDO, was born at Bologna in 1575. His father was a musician, and Guido as a boy was brought up to play the flute. Having acquired considerable mastery in painting from Calvart and the Carracci, he set out with Albani for Rome, and there, and at Naples, acquired a brilliant reputation. He however returned to Bologna, and opened a school

<sup>d</sup> It is engraved by Cesare Testa, B. Farjat, and A. Tardieu.

<sup>e</sup> Bellori, 'Vite de' Pittori, &c.:' Passeri, 'Vite de' Pittori, &c.'

of art, which was very numerously attended. He died at Bologna in 1642.

Guido's masterpiece is generally allowed to be the Aurora preceding the chariot of the Sun, surrounded by the Hours, painted in fresco on the ceiling of one of the apartments of the garden house of the Rospigliosi Palace at Rome. This work is well known by copies, and the prints of Frey and Morghen : it is certainly one of the finest ornamental pictures in the world.

Guido was fond of ideal forms, but his works have little expression and a general sameness of character. He excelled chiefly in painting women, old men, and children, of which beauty, of different kinds, is the characteristic distinction, depending in the works of Guido chiefly on colouring, and a general delicacy of execution : his old heads are generally very picturesque, but, if ever, very seldom expressive, their beauty consisting in a fine contrast of tints in the carnations and hair, and occasionally very effective light and shade. He painted in three manners : his first was distinguished for a broad and powerful effect of light and shade ; his second, for a rich and warm tone of colouring ; and his third, for a pale, green, silvery tone of colour, combined with great affectation of attitude, and a striking inanity of expression. There are, however, some noble exceptions, as the celebrated *Ecce Homo* at Dresden ; and the *Susannah* in the National Gallery has much ap-

propriate expression. Guido's fancy appears to have been engrossed by an imaginary grace, and to this *ideal* every other quality in art was made subordinate. The individual was of so little consequence to him, that his women are said to have been painted from an old colour-grinder of his. Malvasia tells a curious anecdote of Guido relating to this subject. Richardson quotes it in his own original way in his chapter on Grace; he says—A Bolognese nobleman (Filippo Aldovrandi), a great patron of Guercino's, was induced by this last to endeavour to get out of Guido what woman was the model he made use of for his fine and gracious airs of heads. Accordingly he came to see him; and in conversation, while he was admiring one of his fine heads, "For God's sake, Signor Guido, what astonishing beauty of a girl do you hug up to yourself, that supplies you with such divine airs?" "I will show you," said Guido (who found what he was about): so he called his colour-grinder, a great greasy fellow with a brutal look like the devil, and bade him sit down, and turn his head and look up to the sky: and then taking his chalk, drew a Magdalen after him, exactly in the same view and attitude, and same lights and shadows, but as handsome as an angel. The Count thought it was done by enchantment. "No," said Guido, "my dear Count; but tell your painter, that the beautiful and pure

idea must be in the head, and then it is no matter what the model is." Guido's words were—"Signore Conte mio, dite pure al vostro Centense,<sup>f</sup> che le belle idee bisogna averle qui in testa, che ogni modello poi serve."<sup>g</sup> Guido's ideal appears to have been taken from ancient sculpture. His Magdalens and Madonnas have much resemblance to the Niobe.

Raphael speaks of an *ideal* in a letter to Count Baldassare Castiglione, but it was a different ideal from that of Guido; it was an ideal of sentiment and expression, though he speaks of it merely as beauty. He says, "To paint a beautiful woman, I must see several; with this condition, that your Excellence may be near me to select the more beautiful. But as there are few good judges and few beautiful women, I have recourse to a certain ideal in my mind. Whether this be beneficial to art I know not; but I strive to form such an ideal in my mind."<sup>h</sup>

FRANCESCO ALBANI, another distinguished scholar of the Carracci, was born at Bologna in 1578. He was the fellow-pupil of Guido, in the school of Calvart, and Guido was the cause of his

<sup>f</sup> Guercino was a native of Cento.

<sup>g</sup> Malvasia, 'Felsina Pittrice,' ii. 8.

<sup>h</sup> Bernardino Pino, 'Nuova Scelta di Lettere, &c. ; Bellori, 'Descrizione delle Immagini, &c. nel Vaticano ;' Passavant, 'Rafael von Urbino,' App. x. vol. i. p. 533.

leaving Calvart to attend the Carracci. Guido and Albani followed Annibale Carracci to Rome at the commencement of the seventeenth century.<sup>i</sup>

Annibale employed Albani in the Farnese, and, as already mentioned, the frescoes of San Giacomo degli Spagnuoli were painted by Albani from Annibale's designs. Annibale offered Albani 1800 scudi for his assistance in these works, but as Annibale had received only 2000 altogether, Albani declined to accept more than 1000, a transaction equally creditable to both painters. Some years later Albani painted an extensive series of frescoes in the Verospi Palace, now Torlonia; they are mythological subjects from Ovid and others, and are accounted his principal works in this style.<sup>j</sup> Albani, however, owes his reputation to his oil pictures, which are generally fanciful and mythological subjects, and they gave him also a rank among landscape painters; for his scenes are generally placed in the open air, and in many cases he has paid so much attention to the landscape, that his figures often appear subordinate to it.

He is said to have been led into this particular style of painting, through the numerous family

<sup>i</sup> Passeri says they arrived at Rome about 1611 or 1612, but this appears to be an error of about ten years, or not much less: they were not very young men at that time, and Annibale had been dead three years in the summer of 1612.

<sup>j</sup> Frezza, 'Picturae Franc. Albani in aede Verospia,' 1704.

which he had by his second wife, Doralice Fioravante, belonging to a noble family of Florence. Albani had by this lady, who is said to have been beautiful, twelve children, all remarkable for their loveliness, and his wife and children were the models for the numerous Venuses, Nymphs, and Cupids, which are the principal productions of his later years. These children were of such perfect shapes, that the celebrated sculptors Algardi and Fiammingo (Du Quesnoy) likewise made them the objects of their diligent study.

Albani is one of the earliest of the Italian painters who bestowed a principal portion of his time on the production of small cabinet pictures, for their mere beauty's sake. His religious pieces, which are considerably numerous, are generally of large dimensions, but he produced an immense number of small pictures, which were frequently mere landscapes embellished with figures, illustrating some story from the poets or from ancient mythology: these works are occasionally executed on copper, and are finished with extreme care. His figures are generally naked, and his favourite subjects were Venuses, Dianas, Nymphs, and Cupids. The four circular pictures of the Elements, painted for the Borghese family, are of this class: he repeated them for the Dukes of Mantua and Savoy. The Toilet of Venus, and the Landing of Venus on the Isle of Cytherea, are likewise among his most celebrated works of his later style: the





Cupids. (Albani.)

first is in the Louvre, the second in the Chigi Palace at Rome. Albani died at Bologna, in 1660. The ornamental, the sentimental, and the picturesque, characterise the works of Guido: the fanciful, the romantic, and the pretty, characterise those of Albani.<sup>k</sup>

GIOVANNI LANFRANCO, the last of the considerable scholars of the Carracci, was born at Parma in 1581. He likewise followed Annibale Carracci to Rome, where he executed his greatest works. He was, however, chiefly distinguished for the facility of his execution and the boldness of his manner: he appears to have always had in view the cupolas of his great countryman Correggio, whose taste for foreshortenings seems to have descended into Lanfranco. The latter was, however, merely an ornamental painter: he is one of the earliest of the great Italian machinists, as those painters are termed who painted large works in fresco, distinguished for little beyond their size and colour. Lanfranco's master-piece is the cupola of Sant' Andrea della Valle at Rome, where he painted the Assumption of the Virgini; entering the lists in competition with his celebrated countryman, not only in style, but in subject also. He died at Rome in 1647.

<sup>k</sup> See the author's article ALBANI in the 'Biographical Dictionary of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.'

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## BOOK VII.

### FINAL DECLINE OF PAINTING: THE ACADEMICIANS AND THEIR CONTEMPORARIES.

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#### CHAPTER XXIX.

##### ACADEMIC SCHOOLS OF ITALY IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES: THE NATURALISTI AND MACCHINISTI.

THE history of painting in Italy has been already brought down to the establishment of the Academic schools; it now only remains briefly to trace the course of these schools throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Cinquecento style was the last of essential development and progression; that of the Carracceschi the last of acquisition, and this in external qualities, and almost exclusively in light and shade, and in the treatment of accessories. Technical execution, as before observed, is the prominent characteristic of the art of the seventeenth century, and accordingly, as might be anticipated, its most excellent performances are in portraiture, whether of man or of any other object.

The styles of all schools approximated in this period as nearly to one standard as possible; the influence of Raphael however was still felt at Rome, and that of Titian at Venice; at Florence the Anatomical school yielded to a more partial application to colouring; and the influence of the Eclectic school was paramount everywhere, notwithstanding the temporary prevalence of the strong and artificial light and shade of the *Tenebrosi* at one time, or of the gaudy frippery of the *Macchinisti* at another.

These two opposing elements in art were in full vigour when the Carracci and their pupils arrived at Rome.

GIUSEPPE CESARI D'ARPINO (1568-1640) was the leader of the latter, and he was without a rival in Rome until the appearance of MICHELANGELO MERIGI (1569-1609), commonly called, from his birthplace, CARAVAGGIO, who was the founder of the school of the *Tenebrosi*, or the *Naturalisti*, as they are likewise called, from the mere natural imitation which was the element of their style. The heavy and vulgar nature of Caravaggio's style was directly opposed to the ideal mannerism of Cesari. They both had their partisans, but the *Naturalisti* prevailed, and exerted a great influence over all the schools of Italy, but especially that of Naples, where Ribera, commonly called Spagnoletto, surpassed even Caravaggio himself. GIORGIO FRANCESCO BARBIERI (1590-1666), commonly called

GUERCINO, was likewise one of the most influential supporters of the Tenebrosi school. The elements of this style are discussed at length in the notice of Rembrandt, as the most perfect representative of effect from colour and light and shade combined: the very element of the style was misunderstood by the Italian Tenebrosi.

A slight influence was produced at Rome by the works of FEDERIGO BAROCCI (1528-1612), who imitated the chaste effect of Correggio. But his colouring was too artificial; its tone is unpleasant, a violet hue prevails throughout. In form he was less mannered than any of his immediate predecessors. The Carracceschi however were the great revivers of art at Rome—Domenichino, Guido, Lanfranco, and their scholars; but above all Domenichino. These painters were the principal masters at Rome during the pontificates of Paul V., Gregory XV., and Urban VIII.; and what the painters of Bologna had borrowed from the school of Rome in the pontificate of Clement VII., the pupils of the Carracci returned with interest in that of Urban VIII. The following were the most distinguished painters at Rome at this time—Antonio Ricci, called Barbalunga; Camassei; Giovanni Carbone; Francesco Cozza; Pietro del Po; Canini; Giambattista Passeri; and Luigi Scaramuccia. As already observed, the school of the Carracci had a great effect upon portrait painting, this branch of art depending in a great degree on

accuracy of delineation and competent execution. The excessive mannerism of the period had induced so much incapacity for individual detail, that the painters generally were utterly incompetent to portraiture, which therefore required a particular study and became almost a distinct profession. The following masters were particularly distinguished for this branch of art:—Antonio de' Monti; Pietro Facchetti; Antonio Scavati; Antiveduto Grammatica; Ottavio Leoni; and Baldassare Alloisi, called Galanino.

The most distinguished Roman master contemporary with the Carracceschi was ANDREA SACCHI (1600-1661), who in respect of pupilage may be reckoned among the Carracceschi himself; he was the scholar of Albani. He was one of the best colourists and best designers of the Roman school, and was better versed in the theory of art than any of his contemporaries or immediate predecessors. There is a truth and breadth in the style of Sacchi, and a simplicity about his treatment of the subjects he illustrated, which place him on a level with any of the great masters of the Roman school. He was inferior to Julio Romano in invention, but in all other respects is inferior only to the great *Caposcuola* of his school, Raphael himself.

Sacchi was a devoted admirer of Raphael: when considerably advanced in life he visited Parma and other places in the north of Italy, and he was so much struck with the effective beauty of the Venetian

and Lombard schools, that he expected to feel some want in the works of Raphael when he returned to Rome, but immediately he saw the Mass of Bolsena in the Vatican, he exclaimed—"Here I find not only Titian and Correggio, but Raphael also."

Sacchi's masterpiece is the St. Romualdo, now in the Vatican; the saint is relating a vision to five monks of his order; and though all are clad alike and in white, he has so well contrived the shadow of a tree in the picture, that the whole has a grand and sufficiently varied effect: it is generally accounted one of the finest pictures in Rome.<sup>a</sup>

Carlo Maratti and Nicolas Poussin were both pupils of Sacchi.

PIETRO BERRETTINI DA CORTONA (1596-1669) was the chief rival of Sacchi at Rome; and, though his style was attractive and calculated to secure many followers, it was superficial and incorrect, and he takes the lead in the class of painters termed machinists by the Italians.

The followers of Cortona and Sacchi formed two rival factions of art which divided Rome: that of Sacchi was headed by CARLO MARATTI, supported by Ludovico Garzi: that of Cortona, by CIRO FERRI, supported by Giorgio Francesco Romanelli. The followers of Cortona or the Machinists had, for a period, much the greater influence, especially

<sup>a</sup> Passeri, 'Vite de' Pittori, &c.;' and the author's article SACCHI in the 'Penny Cyclopædia.'

in fresco, chiefly through the support of Bernini, who during the pontificates of Urban VIII. and Innocent X. was all-powerful in matters of art at Rome.

After the death, however, of *Ciro Ferri* in 1689 *Maratti* was without a rival in Rome; and upon the accession of *Innocent XII.* he was appointed inspector of the Stanze of the Vatican, the frescoes of which, as already mentioned, he greatly contributed to preserve from decay. He died in 1713, at the advanced age of eighty-eight.

*Maratti's* style was purely Academic; he was also feeble in design, and his attitudes are not free from affectation, which by some has been mistaken for grace. He has been called the Last of the Romans. That he was the last great painter of Rome there can scarcely be a doubt; for neither *Pompeo Batoni* nor *Anton Raphael Mengs* can be said to dispute the title with him. Notwithstanding the studied affectation and occasional incorrectness of *Maratti*, there is a dignity of style and sentiment about some of his works which is far from being compensated for by the mere Academic precision of *Batoni* or *Mengs*, though both masters were great in their style. *Batoni* gave too much importance to finish; *Mengs* was too blindly devoted to the antique. The former was an excellent portrait painter, and had so far the advantage over *Mengs* that his mind was not so preoccupied as to exclude individuality of form. *Mengs* was so absorbed by



the ideal, that nature was to him mere materials for its display, and life and character were spirited away by the phantom of his mind. Both painters were eminently Academic, and were great masters in the mere technicalities of art; but Academic preciseness has evidently supplanted every higher aim, and their works are accordingly eminently conspicuous for the insipidity and monotony which characterize mere Academic style.

NICOLAS POUSSIN (1594–1665), already noticed as the pupil of Sacchi, was by birth a Frenchman, but a Roman by adoption; he lived likewise, and painted, chiefly at Rome, and may be accounted among the Roman painters. Though an ornament to the arts of Rome, his style was very peculiar, and had no influence upon his contemporaries. He was a great admirer of Domenichino and Sacchi, both of whose academies he attended; but he formed his style chiefly from Raphael and the antique. One of the greatest objections to his works is, that they too often resemble painted bassi-rilievi; they are defective in unity of light and shade. The excellence of his landscapes is one of the remarkable features of his works: he is conspicuous also for his classic design. He has been styled the Learned Poussin, chiefly from the familiarity with ancient customs displayed in his mythological pieces, his favourite subjects. In all his compositions from ancient story he appears to have entered thoroughly into the sentiment of

his subject; he was in this respect much above the generality of his contemporaries; he heartily hated the Naturalist school of Caravaggio and his imitators. The Bacchanalian Dance, in the National Gallery, is one of Poussin's master-pieces.

GASPARD POUSSIN (1613-1675), or rather Dughet, was the brother-in-law of Nicolas, who married Dughet's sister; though of French origin, he was born in Rome: he also was one of the most distinguished landscape painters of his time. Gaspar's style and success were doubtless much due to the example and instruction of Nicolas, who may with SALVATOR ROSA (1615-1673) be reckoned among the earliest great landscape painters. The first Italian painters who paid much attention to landscape were the Venetians, who were apparently directed to that branch of the art by various Flemings who had occasionally resided in Venice. The Bolognese, among whom Annibale Carracci and Albani are conspicuous, applied themselves still more generally and more specially to the study; and at Bologna also, a Fleming, Denis Calvart, was the chief guide of the Italians. Matthew and Paul Bril exerted a similar influence at Rome. Paul was virtually the master of all the landscape painters of Rome, and was the great promoter of the cultivation of the art there. The National Gallery possesses likewise some of the master-pieces of Gaspar Poussin and Salvator Rosa.

Reputation in landscape, however, appears to have been almost usurped by CLAUDE GELÉE, the humble pastrycook of Lorraine, who went to Rome with some cooks of that country to find employment there in the same capacity as his companions. His first appearance at Rome is as the servant of Agostino Tassi, who was a good landscape painter; and Claude may have been about this time eighteen or twenty years of age: he was born in 1600. This was in the pontificate of Paul V., who died in 1621; and in the pontificate of Urban VIII. (1623-44) we find Claude already a great landscape painter; and he had made himself known as an engraver as early as 1630. His best pictures were painted from about 1640 to 1660: he died in 1682.

Claude Lorraine's great excellence is in aërial perspective and the general management of light. He painted much from nature, and this he was taught to do by his friend Sandrart, with whom he dwelt some time at Rome.<sup>b</sup> The National Gal-

<sup>b</sup> Sandrart, in his 'Academia Todesca, &c.,' is the principal authority for Claude's History; and from his intimacy with him he must have known it well. Some recent writers, Italian, French, and English, upon the authority of a misprint in the Latin translation of Sandrart, apparently assuming the translation to be the original work, have pronounced the common story to be an error, and have asserted Claude to have been a sign-painter for cook-shops. The following is the error alluded to:—"Pictori cuidam Artocreatum," which makes Sandrart say that Claude was

lery contains an excellent collection of Claude's works.

The course of painting at Florence and Venice, and other parts of Italy, was similar to that already described at Rome. The Caposcuola, or great leader of each school, was of greater importance than Nature herself; and accordingly, with occasional intermissions, the majority of the masters of the several schools are distinguished only for an inferior repetition of the styles of the leading masters of the schools modified by the Eclecticism of the Carracci: Michelangelo at Florence, Titian and Paolo Veronese at Venice.

Barocci had some influence on the colouring of the Florentine school, and Lodovico Cardi, commonly called CIGOLI (1559-1613), had still more. He combined correctness of drawing with brilliancy of colouring. Santi di Tito Titi, however, had before him shown a great indifference for the Anatomical school. Cigoli was greatly assisted in his reform of the Florentine school by Gregorio Pagani and Domenico da Passignano, and the influence of the Carracceschi, which was felt at Florence about the

apprenticed to a *painter of pies*. Independent of the context, which plainly shows the error, the words themselves are suspicious; and by the simple alteration of the third letter in the first word into S—*pistori cuidam artocreatum*—the Latin version says what the German original says, namely, that Claude was apprenticed to a *baker of pies*, a person more likely to be met with in a village than a painter of pies.

same time. Cigoli owed much of his style to the works of Barocci, who was in some respects a faint revival of Correggio. The ascendancy of this new school, more conspicuous for the absence of great blemishes than for the presence of great beauties, was much promoted by the works of Ligozzi at Florence, and by the school of Francesco Vanni at Siena. Of this school were many good portrait painters; indeed excellence in portraiture, as already observed elsewhere, characterizes the Italian painting of the seventeenth century. Besides the painters noticed above, the following masters deserve particular mention:—Giovanni Biliverti, Fabrizio Boschi, Cristofano Allori, Jacopo da Empoli, Giambattista Vanni; Matteo Roselli and his scholars Giovanni Manozzi da San Giovanni, Baldassare Franceschini, called Il Volterrano, and Francesco Boschi, a distinguished portrait painter: also Francesco Turini and his scholar Simone Pignone; and finally Lorenzo Lippi, who was poet as well as painter. CARLO DOLCI (1616-1686) belongs also to the painters of Florence of this period: he was chiefly distinguished for the high finish of his works, which in great part are dramatized portraits; and he generally painted mere heads or single figures reaching down to the knees only. He was most successful in female figures: his style was too effeminate for male character.

During the prevalence of this style another new impulse was given to painting at Florence by the

works of Pietro da Cortona, who carried away a host of imitators there as well as at Rome; the effect of his style was indeed much greater at Florence than at Rome. His principal works at Florence were the extensive frescoes of the Pitti palace, which however were only commenced by Cortona; they were completed by Ciro Ferri. All extensive works from the time of Cortona till towards the close of the eighteenth century were purely decorative ornamental, the best of all styles for the purposes to which it was applied—the decorations of the ceilings of elaborately ornamented apartments. Variety and gaiety of colour in continuous chains of groups, and a light tone of chiaroscuro, were the chief requisites for such decorations, and they are the chief characteristics of Cortona and his great cortège of Machinists. The most distinguished Florentine artists of this class, the last great school of Tuscany, were, Cesare, Vincenzo and Pietro Dandini; Antonio Domenico Gabbiani, and his scholar Benedetto Luti; Salvi Castellucci; Giacinto and Lodovico Gimignani; Lazzaro Baldi; Alessandro Gherardini; and Sebastiano Galeotti.

At Venice the characteristic *force* of its great masters still remained the distinguishing feature of painting throughout the whole of the Academic period, and as originally the qualities of Venetian art were more of a material than æsthetical character, its artists remained at a less distance from

her great *Copiscuola* than did those of Rome and Florence from theirs.

JACOPO PALMA the younger (1544-1628) was, says Lanzi,<sup>c</sup> the last of the good age and the first of the bad in the history of Venetian painting: he had, however, more of the good than the bad. Boschini<sup>d</sup> relates that Guido and Guercino, upon seeing a picture by this master, exclaimed, "What a pity that such a painter should ever be dead!" The following contemporaries of Palma are deserving of mention: — Leonardo Corona; Andrea Vicentino; Santo Peranda; Antonio Vassilachi, called L'Aliense; Pietro Malombra; Girolamo Pilotto; Giuseppe Porta, called Salviati; Matteo Ponzzone; and Pietro Damini. In the neighbouring cities to Venice there were also some distinguished painters; ALESSANDRO VAROTARI (1590-1650), called PADUANINO (or rather Padovanino), from Padua, his birthplace, was the most able painter of his time belonging to this school; many of his works are worthy of Titian. His *Marriage at Cana*, now in the Academy at Venice, is one of the best pictures that was produced in the seventeenth century. Dario Varotari, the father of Paduanino, was a native of Verona, which can boast of several other distinguished painters of this period, as

<sup>c</sup> 'Storia Pittorica, &c.,' to which the reader is referred for the detail of the history of the later ages of painting in Italy.

<sup>d</sup> 'La Carta del Navegar Pittoresco.'

Alessandro Turchi, called L'Orbetto; Pasquale Ottini; and Carlo Ridolfi, the author of the principal authority for the history of the Venetian painters down to his own time.<sup>e</sup>

At Padua was Pietro Liberi, called Libertino, from his repeatedly painting naked Venuses. At Vicenza were Alessandro Maganza, Francesco Maffei, Giulio Carpioni, and Bartolomeo Cittadella.

The Caravaggeschi or the Tenebrosi were very much encouraged in Venice; though strangers, they even supplanted the Venetian painters of distinction in the public favour. Of this school were Pietro Ricchi, of Lucca, called Il Lucchese, Carlo Saraceni, Francesco Rusca, Stefano Pauluzzi, Matteo da' Pitocchi, and Bastiano Manzoni. Many artists of the Venetian school were cut off by the plague which visited Venice in 1630 and 1631; and the decline of art was more obvious from that period.

Of the eighteenth century the following masters were the most distinguished:—Andrea Celesti, Antonio Zanchi of Este, Pietro Negri, Francesco Trevisani, Antonio Molinari, Antonio Bellucci, Giovanni Segala, Gian-Antonio Fumiani, Niccolo Bambini, Gregorio Lazzarini, Antonio Pellegrini, Giambattista Pittoni, Giambattista Piazzetta,

<sup>e</sup> 'Le Maraviglie dell' Arte, ovvero le Vite degli illustri Pittori Veneti e dello Stato,' 2 vols. 4to. Venice, 1648: a second edition was first published at Padua so recently as 1835.



Giambattista Tiepolo, and Sebastiano Ricci. Of all these painters the two last mentioned were the most distinguished. To these may be added Antonio Balestra of Verona, and his celebrated pupils Pietro Rotari and Gio. Bettino Cignaroli, both likewise of Verona.

At Bologna in the seventeenth century the most distinguished masters were; Simone Cantarini, Alessandro Tiarini, Lionello Spada, Lorenzo Pasinelli, and Carlo Cignani.

SIMONE CANTARINI (1612-1648), called Il Pesarese, was one of the best of all the Italian portrait painters, and has seldom been equalled and perhaps never been surpassed in execution by any painter whatever. Nothing can be more perfectly painted than some of the heads and extremities in his pictures; there is a head of Guido by him in the Gallery of the academy at Bologna, which must be reckoned among the best painted heads in the world. It appears to be alive, and yet it is painted with great freedom, the very touches are evident; it is a production of consummate mastery, not of labour.

Giuseppe Maria Crespi and the Bibieni were the last distinguished painters of this school.

At Genoa and the North, in the same period, were, Luca Cambiaso, Giovanni and Giambattista Carlone, Bernardo Strozzi, Giovanni Andrea Ansaldo, and Gio. Benedetto Castiglione; and the Procaccini, and Daniele Crespi at Milan.

It remains yet to give a rapid sketch of the school of Naples. It was here that the style of Caravaggio found its most congenial home; there is something in the people and climate of Naples which accords with its character—warm-blooded, dark-complexioned, and in their characters exhibiting violent contrasts. It is the style of colouring too which has prevailed with the Spaniards, a kindred people with the Neapolitans.

It has been already observed that Gio. Francesco Penni, called *il Fattore*, introduced the Cinquecento style at Naples; of this school the following Neapolitan masters are worthy of mention: Andrea da Salerno, Francesco Curia, and Ippolito Borghese. The characteristic school of Naples, however, commences with Bellisario Corenzio, Giuseppe Ribera, called *Spagnuolo*, and Giambattista Caracciolo. These three painters formed a memorable cabal, the object of which was to exclude all extraneous competition from the distinguished masters of other parts of Italy. They are said to have resolved to expel or poison every painter of talent who came to Naples to exercise his art there. Domenichino is reported to have been one of the victims of this cabal. Annibale Carracci, also the Cav. d'Arpino, and Guido, were all forced by it to leave Naples.

In 1641, however, the year of Domenichino's death, Caracciolo died, and the cabal was put an end to. Two years afterwards, Corenzio himself,

the head of the cabal, who even poisoned his own scholar Luigi Rodrigo, broke his neck by a fall from a scaffolding, when repairing one of his own frescoes. Ribera, the last of the triumvirate, was a few years afterwards dishonoured by his daughter, who became the mistress of Don Juan of Austria, and he left Naples in despair, to brood over his smitten pride in obscurity.<sup>f</sup>

This Corenzio was a Greek, and after having studied some years under Tintoretto at Venice, settled in Naples about the year 1590. Partly by ability, partly by dissimulation, and partly by violence, he obtained a complete ascendancy at Naples, and exerted a species of dictatorial authority over its painters. Some, whose position was too high to be subject to him, abstained from opposition to him through fear; those whom he could neither awe nor control, he associated with him; these were only two—the Spaniard Ribera, and Caracciolo, a Neapolitan. Corenzio was a painter of extraordinary power, especially in fresco. He was very similar to his master Tintoretto, and on the whole little inferior to him. Of the three, Ribera was the most characteristic and consistent in his

<sup>f</sup> Dominici, 'Vite de' Pittori, &c. Napolitani,' says that Spagnuolo disappeared about the year 1648. Cean Bermudez, in his 'Diccionario, &c.,' says that he died at Naples in 1656, but cites no authority; Palomino has this date. He was born at Xativa near Valencia in Spain in 1588.

style, in which he surpassed its founder Caravaggio himself.

Of a subsequent period, the most distinguished masters were Massimo Stanzioni; Salvator Rosa, in style the Ribera of landscape-painters, but an explorer of the wild and romantic in subject; Luca Giordano, called *Fa Presto* from his facility and the rapidity of his execution; and Francesco Solimena, an eminent Academic, and at the same time an ornamentalist; he was, however, one of the most distinguished painters of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

At the death of Luca Giordano in 1705, Solimena was left without a rival at Naples; he died in 1747, at the advanced age of ninety, and immensely wealthy. Sebastiano Conca, Giaquinto Corrado, Ferdinando Sanfelice, and Francesco de Mura, were the most eminent of his scholars, and the last distinguished painters of Naples of the eighteenth century.

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## CHAPTER XXX.

THE SCHOOLS OF PAINTING IN SPAIN : INFLUENCE  
OF CARAVAGGIO.

THE Spanish school of painting appears to have been one of the more recently established of the modern schools of Europe. The more characteristic Spanish school has a 'close connection with the schools of Italy, especially those of Venice and Naples in style, though its earlier development seems to have been due to the immigration of Flemish artists into Spain.

The principal works undertaken in Spain date from the time of Philip II.; they were chiefly executed by Italians, and the principal Spanish painters studied in Italy. Titian, as already noticed elsewhere, spent a few years in Spain in the reign of Charles V.; but the works he executed were oil pictures, and chiefly easel-pieces, which, though guides in colouring to the Spanish painters, were less the models of the great masters of Spain than those executed in Philip's time, and the *Capit d'Opera* of painting in Italy itself.

The painters of Spain have been classified in three principal schools, but these divisions are as much local as characteristic; they are those of Valencia, Madrid, and Seville. The following are the

principal masters of these several schools, with the names of the places where they chiefly resided and worked, arranged chronologically, from the sixteenth century inclusive :—of the sixteenth, Antonio del Rincon, Toledo ; Alonso Berruguete, Castille and Toledo ; Luis de Vargas, Seville ; Alonzo Sanchez Coello, Madrid ; Luis de Morales, el Divino, Badajoz ; Dominico Theotocopuli, el Greco, Toledo ; Vicente Joanes, Valencia ; Miguel Barrosa, Escorial and Toledo ; and Alonzo Vazquez, Seville. Of the seventeenth century : Pablo de Cespedes, Cordova and Seville ; Juan de las Roelas, Seville ; Francisco de Ribalta, Valencia ; Juan del Castillo, Seville ; Francisco Pacheco, Seville ; Alonso Cano, Andalucia and Madrid ; Antonio de Pereda, Madrid ; Diego Velazquez, Madrid ; Juan de Pareja, Madrid ; Francisco Zurbaran, Seville and Madrid ; Francisco Rizi, Madrid ; Claudio Coello, Madrid and Zaragoza ; Juan de Valdes Leal, Madrid ; Antonio Palomino y Velasco (the Spanish Vasari), Cordova ; Bartolomé Estéban Murillo, Seville ; and Francisco de Herrera, el Mozo (the young), Madrid and Seville.

This list comprises all the great painters of Spain ; there were no very distinguished Spanish masters in the eighteenth century. The following are the most distinguished of those above mentioned :—Antonio del Rincon, Luis de Vargas, Morales, Joanes, Cespedes, Roelas, Ribalta, Pacheco, Alonso

Cano, Velazquez, Zurbaran, and Murillo, whom we will briefly notice separately.<sup>a</sup>

ANTONIO DEL RINCON (about 1446-1500) was court painter to Ferdinand and Isabella, and was the first distinguished Spanish painter. Few of his works now remain: the principal is the Life of the Virgin in seventeen compositions, in the church of Robledo de Chavela, near the Escorial, on the road from Madrid to Avila. From the general superiority of the style of his design over the majority of his contemporaries in or out of Spain, del Rincon is supposed to have studied at Florence, and probably under Andrea del Castagno or Domenico Ghirlandajo.

LUIS DE VARGAS (1502-1568) was a painter of very superior powers; he is said to have been the scholar of Perino del Vaga at Rome, where, and in other parts of Italy, he remained twenty-eight years. He established the cinquecento style of design in Andalusia, where a Gothic taste had previously prevailed; he executed works at Seville, which fully entitled him to rank with the great painters of Italy. Vargas established a greater reputation at Seville than any of his predecessors; and had his works, says Cean Bermudez, been as conspicuous, for tone and harmony of colour as they were for brilliancy, composition, character, and expression,

<sup>a</sup> The Penny Cyclopædia and Supplement contain notices of the principal Spanish painters, by the author of this essay, with the exception of Morales, Murillo, and Velazquez.

he would have been the greatest of Spanish painters. Vargas was of a very stern cast of mind, and somewhat of the ascetic ; he was in the habit of chastising himself, and used to lie in a coffin some hours a day meditating on death.

LUIS DE MORALES (about 1510-1586), called *el Divino* or the Divine, may be termed the Lodovico Carracci of Spain, as regards his colour, and light and shade ; in design and manner of execution, he has been termed the Spanish Bellini, but he is not so hard as this painter. His works, however, or at least those attributed to him out of Spain, want vigour in the modelling and conception : and his title of the Divine, as far as respects excellence in art, is a misnomer ; if applied to sanctity of purpose, expression, and subject, it is more just, but is also then vague, and equally inapplicable. The prevailing sentiment of his pieces, generally mere heads, is something approaching exhausted despair or resignation ; his style is an exponent of Spanish asceticism. He is said to have never painted on canvas.

VICENTE JOANES or JUANES (1523-1579) studied in Italy, and chiefly the works of the Roman school. He is the Caposcuola of the school of Valencia, and is sometimes called the Spanish Raphael. His subjects are exclusively religious, and if, says Cean Bermudez, Morales deserved on this account the title of *el Divino*, Joanes is likewise entitled to it. The sentiment too of his works is generally impassioned resignation.



PABLO DE CESPEDES (1538-1608) was in many respects one of the most distinguished Spaniards of the sixteenth century. He studied in Rome, and was considered one of the best fresco painters there in the time of Gregory XIII. He returned to Cordova in 1577, and was made one of the canons of the cathedral there. Pacheco describes Cespedes as one of the best of the Spanish colourists, and the first master of chiaroscuro in the school of Seville; he excelled also in invention and composition. It was a practice with Cespedes to make a cartoon of his pictures of the same size as the intended painting. Cespedes was known as an Arabic, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin scholar, and he is one of the best Spanish writers on art.

JUAN DE LAS ROELAS (about 1558-1625) is supposed likewise to have studied in Italy, and particularly at Venice. He has been compared with Tintoretto and the Carracci in the general characteristics of his style and execution, and with the Venetians in colouring. He is the first of the Andalucian painters of the school of Seville in design and composition, and displays frequently a grandeur of form and majesty of character which distinguish only the greatest masters. No master, says Mr. Ford,<sup>b</sup> ever painted the sleek grimalkin Jesuit like Roelas.

FRANCISCO RIBALTA (1551-1628) was correct and vigorous in design, a good anatomist, and has

<sup>b</sup> 'Hand-book of Spain.'

sometimes displayed an uncommon grandeur of composition. Valencia, of the school of which he is one of the *capiscuola*, is still rich in his productions.

FRANCISCO PACHECO (1571-1654) studied exclusively at Seville, his native place. He first visited Toledo, Madrid, and the Escorial, in 1611, and then only became acquainted with the works of the great Italian and Spanish masters, which had such an effect upon him, that when he returned to Seville, he opened a school with the view of giving his younger countrymen all the advantage of a systematic and theoretic education : from this school came Alonzo Cano and Velazquez. Pacheco's house was the chief resort of all men of art, of literature, and of taste, and among his most intimate associates were the Jesuits of Seville. He was assisted by these Jesuits in his treatise on painting, 'Arte de la Pintura,'<sup>c</sup> who are said to have been the authors of the part devoted to sacred art ; and doubtless to them is due much of the austere morality which characterizes Pacheco's principles of art.

Cean Bermudez records a service performed by Pacheco to art, which will appear singular to those unacquainted with Spanish customs ; he was the first

<sup>c</sup> 'Arte de Pintura, su Antigüedad y Grandezas,' 4to. Seville, 1649, p. 641 ; a very scarce book, and the best work on the subject in the Spanish language ; it is in three parts, history, theory, and practice.

who properly painted and gilded statues. We may here repeat what has been said on this subject in the Supplement to the 'Penny Cyclopaedia'<sup>d</sup>—Pacheco published an essay, partly on this subject, in 1622, complaining of sculptors painting their own statues. But the generality of *Doradores* and *Estofadores* worked so badly, that such sculptors as Juan Martinez Moñtanes and Alonso Cano felt compelled to dress and colour their own statues. Pacheco, however, coloured many statues for Montañes, including the St. Jerome of the monastery of Santiponce. Montañes generally made a contract with his employers, to be allowed to superintend the toilet of his own works. Mr. Ford, in the 'Handbook of Spain,' gives some curious details about the toilets of these Spanish images.

No man is allowed in Spain to undress the *Paso*, or *Sagrada Imagen* of the Virgin; and some images had their mistresses of the robes (*Camerera Mayor*) and a chamber (*Camerin*) where their toilet was made. The duty has, however, now devolved upon old maids; and "Ha quedado para vestir imagines" (She has gone to dress images) has become a term of reproach. Embroidering rich dresses for images of the Virgin is still a great occupation with the wealthy and pious ladies of Spain. Similar customs prevailed with the ancients. The ancients, however, paid somewhat more attention to the decorum and propriety of costume than the Spanish clergy.

<sup>d</sup> In the writer's notice of PACHECO.

In the remote villages and in the mendicant convents the most ridiculous masquerades were exhibited, such as the Saviour in a court dress, with wig and breeches. Some figures have only heads, feet, and arms, the bodies being mere blocks because destined to be covered with drapery; they are called "Imagines á vestir." Before the French occupation of Spain there were fifty of these images in Seville alone, which were carried in various processions in the Holy Week, and on other great occasions.

In 1618 Pacheco was appointed by the Inquisition one of the guardians of the public morals: he was made censor of all the pictures which were exposed for sale in Seville; nakedness was prohibited, and it was Pacheco's business to see that no pictures of the naked human form were sold.

It is to such external formal morality as this that the Spanish school of painting owes its characteristic ponderous sobriety, and is so directly opposed to the cinquecento schools of Italy. There is not probably in the whole art of Spain such a thing as a naked female of the size of life, if of any other size. It reflects the jealous morosity of the Inquisition even in its portraits. Prudery was carried so far in the time of Ferdinand VII. that all the great Italian works which could be reproached with nudities were removed from the galleries, and condemned to a distinct set of apartments, called the Galeria Reservada, which

was only opened to view to those who had procured special orders. There is a "Cabinet des Objets Réservés" at Naples; and though this is separated from the rest of the collection with reason, there is, or at least was, no difficulty whatever in obtaining admission into it; but the Galeria Reservada of Madrid is of a very different nature, and comparatively innocent; and the separation of such works from the rest of the collection is a greater evidence of subjective immorality than of objective indecency. Mr. Ford terms this gallery a sort of Magdalen or Penitentiary, into which were banished all peccant pictures whose nudities might corrupt the purity of Madrid; where the Italian and Flemish Ledas, Danaës, and other improper ladies blushed unseen, lumped together like the naughty epigrams of Martial, when collected into one appendix in well-intentioned editions. All these pictures were the works of foreigners. "Nothing," says Mr. Ford, p. 116, "gave the holy tribunal greater uneasiness than how Adam and Eve in Paradise, the blessed souls burning in purgatory, the lady who tempted St. Anthony, or the last day of judgment were to be painted, circumstances in which small-clothes and long-clothes would be highly misplaced. Both Palomino (ii. 137) and Pacheco (201) handle these delicate subjects very tenderly. Describing the Last Judgment of Martin de Vos, at Seville, Pacheco relates how a bishop informed him that he had chanced, when only a

simple monk, to perform service before this group of nakedness; the mitre had not obliterated the dim recollection: he observed (he had been a sailor in early life) that rather than celebrate mass before it again he would face a hurricane in the Gulf of Bermuda; the moral effect of the awful Day of Judgment was so much counterbalanced by the immoral deshabelle.”\*

ALONSO CANO (1601-1667), painter, sculptor, and architect, was the scholar of Pacheco, and is sometimes termed the Michelangelo of Spain: in some respects they were similar, but rather in the extent than in the quality of their abilities. Cano's works are conspicuous for vigour of design, richness of colour, and boldness of execution.

Cano was of a singular disposition, and of a violent temper: among others, the following story is told of him. When in Granada, in the year 1658, he made a statuette of St. Anthony of Padua for a certain councillor of that city, and demanded as its price 100 pistoles. The calculating councillor, reckoning up the time he had been about the work, said, “You have been twenty-five days only over this figure; you are, therefore, charging me four pistoles per day for your work, an exorbitant charge; for I, who am a councillor, do not receive half so much.” Upon which Cano, furious at this rule-and-compass estimate of his work, dashed the saint to pieces on the pavement, exclaiming, “I

\* Article Pacheco, already quoted.

have been fifty years learning to make this figure in twenty-five days." The staid councillor, astounded at the artist's impetuosity, and in dread anticipation of some mishap to himself from a man who could thus unceremoniously demolish a saint, rushed in consternation from his presence. It was, in fact, a capital offence, but apparently never reached the ears of the Inquisition.\* A similar destruction of an image of the Virgin caused the death of Torregiano the sculptor, who was convicted of heresy, and died or committed suicide in prison, and thus anticipated his sentence.

DIEGO VELAZQUEZ DE SILVA<sup>f</sup> (1599-1660), being better known than any of the preceding painters out of Spain, is accordingly better appreciated out of Spain. He visited Italy, but had formed his style before he went there. He belongs strictly to the naturalist school; there is much resemblance in his works to those of Caravaggio and Ribera, but he applied all their natural force to the portraiture of dignified characters, and thus he is exempt from the often deprecated vulgarity of the naturalist school. Velazquez ranks as a portrait painter with Titian and Vandyck; and he had besides the great power of objective imitation characteristic of the naturalist school. There is,

<sup>f</sup> According to Cean Bermudez, his name is correctly Diego Rodriguez de Silva y Velazquez, but he has inserted the other form in his 'Diccionario Historico, &c.' Velazquez was, however, his mother's name; his father's was de Silva.

however, no laboured imitation in the works of Velazquez; some of his objects and pictures are executed with wonderful *bravura*, yet the exactness of character of the object represented is no way sacrificed. The National Gallery possesses two excellent specimens of this celebrated master. Velazquez is the head of the school of Madrid.

FRANCISCO ZURBARAN (1598-1662), likewise of the naturalist school in light and shade and colour, is called the Spanish Caravaggio; but he too was less vulgar than his Italian model. Some of his masterpieces are still at Seville.

BARTOLOMÉ ESTÉBAN MURILLO (1618-1682), the best known of all the Spanish masters out of Spain, belongs to the same school as the above, though he frequently represented the most exalted subjects. Murillo is sometimes called the Spanish Vandyck; he, however, belonged to a very different school of art from that of Vandyck. He is the great Caposcuola of the school of Seville, and is likewise generally considered the prince of Spanish painters.

Murillo, having acquired a good knowledge of art from Juan del Castillo at Seville, became in 1642 the pupil of Velazquez at Madrid. He merely paid Velazquez a visit, his intention being to prosecute his journey to Rome; but Velazquez, aware of his slender resources and the difficulties of the enterprise, at the same time admiring his manners and ability, persuaded him to desist from



his design of going to Italy, and to stay and live with him. They were both natives of Seville.

Murillo in after life changed his style, and adopted one more in accordance with the exalted character of the subjects which he represented: his greatest works were executed after he was fifty years of age, being nearly all produced between 1670 and 1680. The works of this painter in the National Gallery are fine specimens of his later style.<sup>§</sup>

§ On the Spanish painters generally the English reader may consult Cumberland, 'Anecdotes of eminent Painters in Spain,' and the articles already referred to in the Penny Cyclopædia and Supplement. The chief authority for the history of the Spanish painters is the Dictionary of Cean Bermudez, 'Diccionario Historico de las mas Ilustres Profesores de las Bellas Artes en España,' 6 vols. 12mo., Madrid, 1800. An account of Spanish painting and particularly of Murillo was published by the same writer at Cadiz, in 1806, in the form of a letter to a friend; it is translated into English in the 'Life of Murillo, compiled from the writings of various authors,' by Edward Davies, London, 1819.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

THE SCHOOLS OF THE NETHERLANDS IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES : THE SUBJECTIVE STYLES OF RUBENS AND REMBRANDT, SUCCEEDED BY THE HIGHEST OBJECTIVE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ART—ILLUSION.

THE Italianization of Flemish art was alluded to in the previous notice of that school. The first masters who materially contributed to this influence were Jan Schoorel, Lambertus Lombardus, Frans Floris, Bernard van Orlay, Michael Coxcie, the elder Pourbus, Erasmus Quellinus, Otto van Veen, Gerhard Honthorst, and their scholars. Schoorel was the earliest artist of the school who attempted to appropriate the Italian style of design. He was at first the pupil of Mabuse; he then studied under Albert Dürer at Nürnberg: he studied likewise at Venice, visited Jerusalem, and spent some time at Rome, during the pontificate of his countryman Adrian VI. for whom he painted several pictures. Schoorel was one of the earliest painters who paid much attention to landscape: he died in 1562, in his sixty-eighth year. The first great master, however, of this new development of Flemish painting was PETER PAUL RUBENS, a meteor of art, as Fuseli has well said, though, after the productions

of Paolo Veronese, he can hardly be considered the inventor of a new style. His great distinction is the extraordinary mastery with which he treated the style that he adopted.

Rubens was born at Cologne in 1577, on the day of Saints Peter and Paul, June 29, and remained there until he was ten years old, when his father died, and he was removed by his mother to Antwerp. His principal master was Otto van Veen, a distinguished painter of Antwerp. In 1600 he went to Italy, and studied the works of the great Italian colourists at Venice. He visited and painted in many other cities of Italy; and in 1608 returned to Antwerp. He afterwards visited Paris, London, and Madrid; and finally died at Antwerp, honoured and wealthy, May 30, 1640. Rubens, speaking characteristically or æsthetically, represents magnificence arising from colour.

“Rubens,” says Fuseli,<sup>a</sup> “born at Cologne, in Germany, but brought up at Antwerp, then the depository of western commerce, a school of religious and classic learning, and the pompous seat of Austrian and Spanish superstition, met these advantages with an ardour and success of which ordinary minds can form no idea, if we compare the period at which he is said to have seriously applied himself to painting under the tuition of Otto van Veen, with the unbounded power he had acquired over the instruments of art when he set out

<sup>a</sup> Lecture II.

for Italy, where we instantly discover him not as the pupil, but as the successful rival of the masters whose works he had selected for the objects of his emulation. Endowed with a full comprehension of his own character, he wasted not a moment on the acquisition of excellence incompatible with its fervour, but flew to the centre of his ambition, Venice, and soon compounded from the splendour of Paolo Veronese and the glow of Tintoretto that florid system of mannered magnificence which is the element of his art and principle of his school. He first spread that ideal palette, which reduced to its standard the variety of nature, and once methodized, whilst his mind tuned the method, shortened or superseded individual imitation. His scholars, however dissimilar in themselves, saw with the eye of their master; the eye of Rubens was become the substitute of nature: still the mind alone that had balanced these tints, and weighed their powers, could apply them to their objects, and determine their use in the pompous display of historic and allegoric magnificence; for *that* they were selected; for *that* the gorgeous nosegay swelled: but when, in the progress of depraved practice, they became the mere palliatives of mental impotence, empty representatives of themselves, the supporters of nothing but clumsy forms and clumsier conceits, they can only be considered as splendid improprieties, as the substitutes for wants which no colour can palliate and no tint supply."

In another place<sup>b</sup> Fuseli observes: "What has been said of Michelangelo in FORM, may be said of Rubens in COLOUR: they had but one. As the one came to Nature and moulded her to his generic form, the other came to Nature and tinged her with his colour—the colour of gay magnificence. He levelled his subject to his style, but seldom, if ever, his style with his subject; whatever be the subject of Rubens, legend, allegoric, stern, mournful, martyrdom, fable, epic, dramatic, lyric, grave or gay—the hues that embody, the air that tinges them, is an indiscriminate expanse of gay magnificence. If the economy of his colours be that of an immense nosegay, he has not always connected the ingredients with a prismatic eye: the balance of the iris is not arbitrary: the balance of his colour often is."

The works of Rubens are surprisingly numerous; but the majority of the great works attributed to him were *painted* by his scholars from small coloured sketches by his own hand. He is seen to advantage in the National Gallery at London, in the Louvre at Paris, and in the Gallery of Brussels: it is, however, only at Munich or Antwerp that his immense powers can be adequately appreciated. The collection of Munich alone contains ninety-four pictures by Rubens; Antwerp, however, is still in possession of his greatest works—the Descent from the Cross, in the cathedral, the

Crucifixion and the Adoration of the Kings, in the gallery of the museum, besides many others, perhaps equally excellent, in its several churches. The Fallen Angels, in the gallery of Munich, has been already noticed at some length.

The Descent from the Cross, however, in the cathedral at Antwerp is generally allowed to be the *capo d' opera* of Rubens. Sir Joshua Reynolds, who has made many excellent observations on the works of Rubens in his 'Journey to Flanders and Holland,' remarks at some length on this celebrated picture. He says: "This picture, of all the works of Rubens, is that which has the most reputation. I had consequently conceived the highest idea of its excellence: knowing the print, I had formed in my imagination what such a composition would produce in the hands of such a painter. I confess I was disappointed. However, this disappointment did not proceed from any deficiency in the picture itself; had it been in the original state in which Rubens left it, it must have appeared very different: but it is mortifying to see to what degree it has suffered by cleaning and mending: that brilliant effect, which it undoubtedly once had, is lost in a mist of varnish, which appears to be chilled or mildewed.<sup>c</sup> The Christ is in many places retouched, so as to be visible at a distance: the St. John's head is repainted; and other parts, on a close inspection,

<sup>c</sup> It is now so uniform in colour, that tints are not distinguishable at all, and colours only so with difficulty, 1846.

appear to be chipping off, and ready to fall from the canvass. However, there is enough to be seen to satisfy any connoisseur that in its perfect state it well deserved all its reputation.

“The composition of this picture is said to be borrowed from an Italian print ; this print I never saw ; but those who have seen it say that Rubens has made no deviation from it, except in the attitude of the Magdalen. On the print is written *Peter Passer, Invenit ; Hieronymus Wirix, Sculpsit.*

“The greatest peculiarity of this composition is the contrivance of the white sheet on which the body of Jesus lies: this circumstance is probably what induced Rubens to adopt the composition. He well knew what effect white linen, opposed to flesh, must have with his powers of colouring,— a circumstance which was not likely to enter into the mind of an Italian painter, who probably would have been afraid of the linen’s hurting the colouring of the flesh, and have kept it down of a low tint. And the truth is, that none but great colourists can venture to paint pure white linen near flesh ; but such know the advantage of it: so that possibly what was stolen by Rubens, the possessor knew not how to value, and certainly no person knew so well as Rubens how to use. After all, this may perhaps turn out another *Lauder’s* detection of plagiarism. I could wish to see this print, if there is one, to ascertain how far Rubens was indebted to it for his Christ,

which I consider as one of the finest figures that ever was invented: it is most correctly drawn, and, I apprehend, in an attitude of the utmost difficulty to execute. The hanging of the head on his shoulder, and the falling of the body on one side, give such an appearance of the heaviness of death, that nothing can exceed it.

“Of the three Marys, two of them have more beauty than he generally bestowed on female figures, but no great elegance of character. The St. Joseph of Arimathea is the same countenance which he so often introduced in his works, a smooth fat face, a very unhistorical character.

“The principal light is formed by the body of Christ and the white sheet; there is no second light which bears any proportion to the principal; in this respect it has more the manner of Rembrandt’s disposition of light than any other of Rubens’s works; however, there are many little detached lights distributed at some distance from the great mass, such as the head and shoulders of the Magdalen, the heads of the two Marys, the head of St. Joseph, and the back and arm of the figure leaning over the cross; the whole surrounded with a dark sky, except a little light in the horizon, and above the cross.”<sup>d</sup>

Rubens is distinguished also as one of the first

<sup>d</sup> This picture has been many times engraved; the best prints after it are those by Vorsterman, Pigeot, Earlom, V. Green, and Claessens.



landscape and animal painters of his time : his energetic lion and tiger-hunts and other similar pieces are unrivalled in their class ; they appear to be variations of Leonardo da Vinci's cartoon of the Battle of the Standard, with the addition of wild beasts. Rubens certainly seems to have had in mind, and competed with, this composition, when he made the designs for his very remarkable pictures of these wild hunts and contests.\* Frans Snyders, one of the most distinguished animal painters, assisted Rubens in some of his works of this class.

Of the numerous scholars of Rubens, the most distinguished were Vandyck and Diepenbeck. Of these two painters, Fuseli, in the Lecture quoted, remarks : " Vandyck, more elegant, more refined, to graces which the genius of Rubens disdained to court joined that exquisite taste which, in following the general principle of his master, moderated and adapted its application to his own pursuit. His sphere was portrait, and the imitation of Titiano ensured him the second place in that. The fancy of

\* The notices of Rubens and his style are numerous. The most satisfactory accounts are some recent publications in the German and French languages:—Dr. Waagen's 'Peter Paul Rubens,' &c., in Raumer's 'Historisches Taschenbuch,' 1833 ; translated into English by R. R. Noel, 1840 ; 'Peter Paul Rubens, his Life and Genius ;' Gachet, 'Lettres Inédites de P. P. Rubens,' Brussels, 1840 ; and Nagler, 'Neues Allgemeines Künstler-Lexicon,' article RUBENS.

Diepenbeck, though not so exuberant, if I be not mistaken, excelled in sublimity the imagination of Rubens : his Bellerophon, Dioscuri, Hippolytus, Ixion, Sisyphus, fear no competitor among the productions of his master.”

ANTONY VANDYCK was born at Antwerp in 1599, and he is said to have studied with Van Balen before he became the pupil of Rubens. At the age of twenty he set out for Italy, and remained there between five and six years : he came to England in 1632, and was appointed principal painter to Charles I. He died in London in 1641.<sup>f</sup>

Vandyck is chiefly distinguished as a portrait painter ; he executed, however, many historical pictures, some of which are works of the highest merit, as the Crucifixion, in the church of St. Michel at Ghent ; and another with the two thieves in the cathedral of Mechlin, which Sir Joshua Reynolds considered one of the finest pictures in the world. He says : “ This perhaps is the most capital of all Vandyck’s works, in respect to the variety and extensiveness of the design, and the judicious disposition of the whole. In the efforts which the thieves make to disengage themselves from the cross, he has successively encountered the difficulty of the art ; and the expression of grief and resignation in the Virgin is admirable. This picture, upon the whole, may be considered as one

<sup>f</sup> Houbraken, ‘ Groote Schouburg, &c. ;’ Descamps, ‘ La Vie des Peintres,’ &c. ; Walpole, ‘ Anecdotes of Painting.’

of the first pictures in the world, and gives the highest idea of Vandyck's powers; it shows that he had truly a genius for history-painting, if it had not been taken off by portraits."

As a portrait-painter Vandyck is generally allowed to dispute the palm with Titian. His portraits are inferior to Titian's in colour and in solidity of effect; in all other respects Vandyck was fully equal, if not superior, to the great Venetian painter. In individuality, in attitude and in costume, Vandyck leaves nothing to be desired: in drawing and in the management of light and shade he was equally excellent. Many of his portraits, however, being deficient in colouring, and consequently tame and flat in effect, fail in attracting that consideration as works of high art which they are otherwise entitled to. It is rather remarkable that Vandyck does not evince more of the impetuosity of Rubens in his works, which as his pupil, and so able a master, one would imagine that he could not have failed, in some degree, to appropriate: for force, the portraits of Rubens are unequalled. There is good reason to conclude that the celebrated head of Gevartius is not a work by Vandyck, but by Rubens. Gaspar Gevartius, the friend of Rubens, was not born until 1593; it is therefore not his picture; and the canon John Gevartius died in 1623,<sup>g</sup> whilst Vandyck was in

<sup>g</sup> Passavant, 'Kunstreise,' &c.; and Waagen, 'Kunstwerke, &c. in England.'

Italy, and he certainly could not have painted such a picture before he went there, for he was then but a youth, and this portrait, one of the finest heads in the world, is evidently the work of a hand old in mastery. However, whoever the person represented may be, the picture was possibly painted by Vandyck, and then touched by Rubens: it certainly shows distinct methods of handling, whether by the same or different hands. Other scholars and contemporaries of Rubens deserving of mention were—Jacob Jordaens, Theodor van Thulden, Jan van Hoeck, Gerhard Seghers, Caspar de Crayer, Abraham Jansens, Abraham Bloemart, and Daniel Mytens the elder: Mytens was an excellent portrait painter, and was the predecessor of Vandyck in the favour of Charles I. of England.

In Holland painting was as active at the commencement of the seventeenth century as in Flanders and Brabant, but it was marked by a distinct development. The Flemish school, conspicuous for its extensive and magnificent works, almost rivalled the splendour of the Italian machinists in their great frescoes, executed at the same period. The chief features of these Flemish works are their extent and gaudy magnificence, yet in subject they are generally historic or of a still more exalted character. The works of their Dutch contemporaries, on the other hand, were remarkable for scrupulous fidelity of imitation, and the closest fami-

liarity of subject. The characteristic Dutch school dates its origin from this period: and it may perhaps not unjustly be termed the Illusive or the Microscopic school, minute exactness of imitation being its principal element. Every branch of art—history, genre, landscape, portrait, all are alike conspicuous for the most scrupulous imitation, even to the utmost elaboration of the textures of substances. Viewing therefore this school æsthetically, illusion may be said to be its characteristic element; though of course, practically, such an end could be only occasionally attained, and that chiefly in minute or inanimate objects, which the human eye in its daily experience, from their familiarity, looks at but superficially: Illusion is, however, attainable in such objects. But this school does not comprise all the Dutch painters of this period: many had no other object than effective *representations* of every-day life, in which style the individual objects may be sufficiently indicated without having recourse to actual *imitation* of the objects, but merely *representations* of their *effects* in general combination with all the other parts forming one whole.

At the same time, and in the same place also, arose another school different in its nature from these two, which are founded on general principles; one characterised by and depending upon the elaboration of only a single element in art—

that of light and shade. The founder of this subjective school was REMBRANDT VAN RHYN, the most attractive and original of painters. He was the son of a miller, and was born in his father's mill, on the banks of the Rhine, near Leyden, June 15, 1606.

Of all the schools of colouring that of Rembrandt is the most *recherché* or studied, or, in other terms, the least obviously natural; yet it is perfectly natural. The variety of the effects of nature is probably infinite; but some appearances are so much more frequent and constant in certain localities than others, that habit with us induces us to consider them as the normal effects of nature, and to look upon any variety as something singular and strange. To our own observation it is evidently strange, or the conviction would not be impressed upon us; but this is obviously owing to the inexperience of our observation, and not in any way to the so-called freaks of nature—an idea itself due only to the infinitesimal experience of the individual man.

Though much originality of character may owe its origin to accident, it can only be appropriated and matured by judicious observation; and it is this power of observation, allowing for some partial influence of casualties, which constitutes the distinctive character of every painter. Many painters, doubtless, before Rembrandt, had witnessed effects



From an Etching by Rembrandt.

exactly similar to those which stamped the distinctive character of his style; and yet how few, judging from their works, have been, even in a slight degree, impressed by them! It is true that Rembrandt's mind was particularly well schooled into the observation of those characteristics which

distinguish his style, and this, too, at a time when impressions are, more than at all others, fixed upon the mind—in early youth. His father's mill was, doubtless, Rembrandt's school; the strong and solitary light, with its impenetrable obscurity around, the characteristic feature of many of Rembrandt's best works, is just such an effect as would be produced by the one ray admitted into the lofty chamber of a mill from the small window, its ventilator. And if you throw a few flowers, or even one only, on the floor of a chamber so lighted, immediately in the single ray of light, you will have the example in nature which will exemplify Rembrandt's principles, or rather practice of colouring, for scientific principles of colouring he had none, beyond the mere distinction of dark and light. In this respect, however, Rembrandt's works are a real contradiction of that theory which separates colour, in effect or pictorially considered, from light and shade, or, in technical terms, colouring from chiaroscuro. Colour in itself is light, and without shade would have but a very flat, monotonous effect in a picture. It is indeed only by means of shade that the real forms of objects are apparent. The beautiful effect of interiors is produced almost wholly by contrasts of light and shade; the greater part of the beauty of foliage arises from the same source, and these effects are the essential and principal qualities which constitute *colouring* as a department of painting, and it is the



due appreciation of the influence of shade upon colours which distinguishes the good from the bad colourist. The mere selection of colours is comparatively of little importance: the offensive effect of a wrong juxta-position of colours may be negatived by shadow, but no composition of colour, however correct, will have an agreeable or harmonious effect, if the picture be without its natural degree of shade according to the circumstances of the representation. If these positions were false, the painter, in representing an object, would have to paint it of the colour he knew it to be, without regard to its appearance; thus acting upon the theory of Queen Elizabeth, who is said to have insisted that, as there was no shade in the human face, hers should certainly not be painted with any such artificial adjunct—a theory, to speak paradoxically, which shows only the absence of theory, and is one of the indications of the infancy of art. The early Italian painters, although they painted the shadows of objects on the ground, seldom expressed shade in the face, or even in draperies. Rembrandt's style of colouring, being difficult of accomplishment and arising from accidental causes and local circumstances, is naturally one of slow attainment and the result of long experience, not of an individual, but of ages, yet it is not artificial, but perfectly natural; but it was not more natural in the days of Rembrandt than in the earliest ages of the revival of art. Its comparatively slow discovery arises

more from man's natural disposition to do what he sees others do, than from its own occasional and only local appearance. There are, however, some men in whom the love of originality is paramount; and they will not do what has already been done, simply because it has been done. It is by such men that new styles of art are developed from the inexhaustible appearances and forms of nature, the more partial and less obvious effect being naturally more slowly developed in art than the more universal and more positive.

It can scarcely be considered surprising that certain striking effects have not been attained at an earlier stage in the progress: it is the same in art as in other things, many simple contrivances are of very recent discovery, and new ones daily attract our notice. The Spaniards could stand the egg on its end when Columbus showed them the way. So it is in art; every original genius finds many imitators, the new style becomes familiar and common, and because the imitators have little merit and less claim to it, they would detract from the *caposcuola* or first originator of the style. But to add to our store of information and entertainment, by the development of a new and hitherto wholly unexplored field of art, as true as beautiful, as Rembrandt did, is the highest merit of the artist, though he may be surpassed in practice by his imitators, which, however, as regards Rembrandt, is not yet the case.

Were it not for the habit of imitation which absorbs the great mass of artists, or for that hero-worship which appears to be a part of man's nature, one would have expected to find some master mind among the Roman painters, who might have preceded Rembrandt in the development of that unity of effect, that concentration of light and shade and colour, with which he is identified. The Colosseum itself, a certain resort of the painters of Rome, affords in its numerous vaults many and constantly varying types of Rembrandt's pictures; it is only in the objects that they differ, the principles are the same. There is the bright solitary ray dispelling darkness, and illuminating the gloom around, in which it is finally absorbed. Such a scene requires but a figure, a cloak, a turban, or any object with colour in it, to become the exact type of a picture by Rembrandt. The ancient ruins, however, generally, in Rome and in other parts of Italy, afford exactly similar effects, and as complete pictures in the perfect unity of light and shade and colour. Many interiors also afford such effects, and particularly the warm and sombre interiors of the beautiful churches of Rome, where occasionally, in the early morning, one may see some dark pious monk or vari-coloured mountain peasant in solitary devotion, illumined by an accidental ray of light, dividing the gloom of the lofty vault above, and thus becoming the centre of a picture of such unity and force, that the eye is involuntarily fixed upon him as a focus of light,

the contrast raising the bright spot into a constellation, and converting into darkness the deep gloom around. The Roman painters, however, could not perceive these effects, and if they saw them, could not appreciate them. Some, absorbed in the veneration of Raphael, others, the devoted imitators of Michelangelo, could only see nature through the works of these masters, comprising in their belief all that is great and worthy in art, thus renouncing Nature for her imitator, and at once resigning birth-right and fame. Michelangelo da Caravaggio and Salvator Rosa appear to have been the only painters at Rome who were much impressed with the power and beauty of light and shade as an independent element of effect, and these mastered only its coarser and more obvious appearances. Andrea Sacchi and Raphael himself were great masters of mere shade or shadow; but this is quite a distinct quality from the perfect unity and concentration of light and shade and colour, such as we often find it in the works of Rembrandt. The shrine of Raphael itself, long sacred to his followers and imitators, affords an admirable lesson on light and shade. Placed within the walls of the Pantheon, the vast area of which is illuminated solely by the small circular opening in the lofty dome above, it is surrounded by a subdued and sombre light, which, as if to harmonize with the feelings of the votary, enshrines the tomb of the "divine painter" in a veil of sanctity, as it were, to protect it from the

unhallowed gaze of worldly indifference and idle curiosity.

Rembrandt's is the glory of having first embodied in art and perpetuated these rare and beautiful effects of nature. Tone and roundness of individual objects was fully understood and developed by Leonardo da Vinci, and in this respect both Da Vinci and Correggio were much superior to Rembrandt. The style of Rembrandt is one of effects and contrasts, not gradually developed or slowly elaborated, but, as it were, created instantaneously like the illumination of a flash of lightning, sudden, brilliant, and partial—an illuminated object in a dark space, his colour depending upon contrast, not on any positive degree of its own. This is a style which requires little instrumental skill, but great knowledge of, and prodigious command over, the materials of colouring. The tone and harmony of Correggio, on the other hand, are the result of patient elaboration and a perfect command of the tools or instruments of art, but may be attained with only a moderate knowledge of the laws and means of colouring. This distinction must be borne in mind; with Rembrandt light and shade was colour. This distinctive character, however, was only gradually developed to its full force in Rembrandt, though there are the elements of his luminous style even in his earliest works. Some of his first pictures are very much laboured, but the graceless form of his figures makes us regret rather

than rejoice at the pains he took with these works, for the elaboration only makes their defects more apparent. The *Woman taken in Adultery*, in the National Gallery, is one of the best of his earlier performances on a small scale: it is very carefully executed, but his luminous system of light and shade is fully developed in it. At a later period of his life, his whole attention was engrossed in the production of mere effect; and his pictures, though still greatly laboured, in another way—in piling and glazing masses of light upon a dark transparent ground—appear to have been executed with surprising rapidity and facility, especially his portraits, which in some instances in the lights are a raised mass of paint. This roughness was occasionally objected to by his sitters or patrons, but he invariably retorted that he was a painter and not a dyer; and when his visitors ventured upon too close an inspection of a picture, thus diminishing its effect, he suddenly announced to them that the smell of paint was very unwholesome. His great power was portrait: his pictures of this class are, as a whole, immensely superior to his other works. The vulgarity of his design is less evident, the impropriety of costume almost wholly obviated, the transparent golden hue of his carnations also has only its full force in figures of the natural size, and it is to his one distinctive quality alone that he owes his reputation. He commanded fame through his consummate mastery of chiaroscuro, and his rich and

brilliant colouring alone, independently of his forcible and effective composition, which is not only a skilful distribution of light and shade, but is highly dramatic and poetic in its motives and sentiment. His defective design and costume, therefore, when we consider the ordinary average degree of talent which falls to the lot of a single individual, are light in the balance against such an array of excellence; and had he been as superior in these respects as in others, the name of Rembrandt would, as a painter, have cast a veil over the past glory of others, and almost rendered the hope of future fame impossible. “He was,” says Fuseli,<sup>h</sup> “a genius of the first class in whatever relates not to form. In spite of the most portentous deformity, and without considering the spell of his chiaroscuro, such were his powers of nature, such the grandeur, pathos, or simplicity of his composition, from the most elevated or extensive arrangement to the meanest and most homely, that the best cultivated eye, the purest sensibility, and the most refined taste dwell on them equally enthralled. He possessed the full empire of light and shade, and of all the tints that float between them. None ever like Rembrandt knew how to improve an accident into a beauty, or to give importance to a trifle.”

Rembrandt had a perfect contempt for costume and for the antique works of art and their proportions. He used to ridicule the whole science of con-

<sup>h</sup> Lecture II.

noisseurs, as well as all their cant about grace, sublimity, and grandeur. He used to say that he had an antique museum and academy of his own; his antiques, as he termed them, were old clothes, curious turbans, unique weapons, pieces of armour, or any antiquated piece of costume which he could procure in the magazines of Polish Jews; and it was with such articles as these that he dressed all his figures, ancient or modern, Christian, Jew, or Gentile. The sacredness of a subject never gave him the slightest trouble: he used the same attire for all ranks and persons, as it suited his whim or humour: Christ may be found teaching in the temple, with a Turkish merchant on one side, and a Dutch peasant on the other; or a figure surrounded by a mob of Dutch boors and beggars in a barn is dignified with the impressive title of Christ healing the Sick. The Woman taken in Adultery, in the National Gallery, already mentioned, contrasts admirably the beauty of Rembrandt's light and shade and colour, and his grotesque taste in design. This picture is, however, a surprising work of art, and is considered by many as one of his masterpieces. It gave Hazlitt occasion to say, "When Annibal Carracci vowed to God that Titian and Correggio were the only true painters, he had not seen Rembrandt; if he had, he would have added him to the list." This picture he characterizes as "prodigious in colouring, in light and shade, in pencilling, in solemn effect; but that is nearly all—



Of outward show  
Elaborate, of inward less exact."

"The marble pavement," he observes, "of which the light is even dazzling; the figures of the two Rabbis to the right, radiant with crimson, green, and azure; the background, which seems like some rich oil-colour smeared over a ground of gold, and where the eye staggers on from one abyss of obscurity to another, place this picture in the first rank of Rembrandt's wonderful performances. If this extraordinary genius was the most literal and vulgar of draughtsmen, he was the most *ideal* of colourists."<sup>1</sup> Whether Rembrandt's colouring (and in his colouring must be comprehended his light and shade) can be correctly called *ideal* depends upon the value of the term: though it is a selection of what is comparatively rare and beautiful in nature, it is still an ordinary and necessary natural effect under certain accidental circumstances, and is probably so far from being an elevation or aggrandisement of such appearances in nature, that if his best works were tested by similar effects in reality, they would appear to be exactly what they are, the feeble efforts of the erring artist; but this is no deduction from Rembrandt's merit. In this picture, however, Rembrandt has departed from his usual unity of effect, and its deep yet transparent gloom is illumined by two distinct lights, that on the woman, which is the principal, and another on the high

<sup>1</sup> Criticisms on Art, vol. i. p. 14.

altar, which, though retiring perfectly to its proper place, is, by the judicious contrast of the impenetrable shade around it, made equally as luminous and effective as the brilliant light in the foreground. The great light, however, on the figure to the right hand of Christ, interferes with the principal group; it spreads the light too partially, is not easily accounted for, and acts so prejudicially on the figure of Christ himself, that to obviate the evil, real or imaginary, Rembrandt appears to have made him a head taller than nearly all the other figures, an artifice more in accordance with the prescriptive laws by which artists were controlled in the remote time of Sesostris than the well-matured age of the seventeenth century.

This picture and the Nativity of Christ in the National Gallery are equally effective. Though the light arises from the child in the latter, the principle of light and shade is the same in both—darkness made visible—they are both interiors, and it is only in interiors that Rembrandt's system of colouring has its due effect. The Descent from the Cross, in the same collection, exemplifies this; the partial light and great shade in that picture are clearly artificial in the open air. This treatment gives effect to the celestial rays, but Rembrandt has here virtually converted the open air into an interior, and has resorted to a miracle in the sky for his window, at the same time showing his own conviction that such effects are possible only in interiors. In com-

position this sketch is extremely beautiful, and it is one of the best of Rembrandt's works in this respect. There is a landscape also by Rembrandt in the National Gallery (No. 72), and in this picture likewise the distinctive characteristic of his style, strong contrast of light and shade, is equally conspicuous ; it is here expressed by a thick cluster of trees, in shadow, against the lightest part of the sky. The whole composition is evidently chosen to illustrate in a new sphere his favourite contrasts of light and shade, which on nearly all occasions, and most especially in his compositions, are obviously the sole end or goal sought to be attained ; in this landscape the figures of Tobias and the Angel merely serve to give a title to the picture. Rembrandt's choice of light falls with extraordinary effect upon single figures, of which the National Gallery affords some excellent examples, as *The Woman Bathing*, *The Jew Merchant*, and *The Jew Rabbi*. The first mentioned is free from that obscurity which envelops many of Rembrandt's most effective pieces, and is doubtless one of his earlier works. Nothing is here concealed or disguised, and sacrificed to the one ruling idea of light ; all objects are fully and solidly painted, the very shadows are well defined and modelled, and the whole is mellow and lustrous. There is just such a work as this in quality of light and shade and colour, though on a much larger scale, in the museum at the Hague. This is the large picture of a celebrated professor of anatomy,

Tulp, lecturing on the structure of the human frame to several students around him, demonstrating his subject by referring to a dead body laid out before him: the naked corpse, of the natural size, is foreshortened, and the whole is distinctly and powerfully painted and beautifully lighted. Sir Joshua Reynolds was struck with this picture, and thus describes it in his 'Journey to Flanders and Holland:—“ The professor is dissecting a corpse which lies on the table. To avoid making it an object disagreeable to look at, the figure is but just cut at the wrist. There are seven other portraits, coloured like nature itself, fresh and highly finished. One of the figures behind has a paper in his hand, on which are written the names of the rest. Rembrandt has also added his own name, with the date 1632. The dead body is perfectly well drawn (a little foreshortened), and seems to have been just washed. Nothing can be more truly the colour of dead flesh. The legs and feet, which are nearest the eye, are in shadow: the principal light, which is on the body, is by that means preserved of a compact form. All these figures are dressed in black.”

This picture was in the Surgeons' Hall at Amsterdam in Sir Joshua's time. It was painted two years after Rembrandt settled in Amsterdam; and the majority of his more luminous works, portraits, and others, were most probably painted before he was so much absorbed by his reputed ruling passion, avarice, with which he is stigmatised by

Houbraken—and accordingly before he gave himself up almost entirely to the traffic in his etchings, which he found to be much more profitable than painting.

Rembrandt's peculiar style is perhaps more strikingly developed in his etchings than in his pictures, notwithstanding the absence of colour in the etchings, for, owing to their low tone and the harmonious softness of his execution, colour is not necessary. And, indeed, when colour is introduced into such works, it requires to be so much subdued, that it is reduced to simple varieties of light and shade, or, when this is not the case, the true harmony of the picture must be defective.

The actual tint introduced into a picture is frequently immaterial, provided it has the exact degree of light requisite, so as not to disturb the harmony of light and shade. Any bright colours or light tints might be introduced indifferently in the highest lights of a picture without changing its effect; but immediately a deep colour, though with an equal degree of light, whether cold or warm, is substituted for a bright light colour, the character of the picture becomes changed, especially if it be at all distinguished for a unity of light and shade; and this is because different colours or colours in different degrees of intensity, or rather the substances which constitute them, have various absorbing and reflective powers. Tone in colours, therefore, depends more upon the reflective and absorptive

power of their nature than upon the tints or colours themselves, from which it is evident that in the composition of a picture, even though with reference to its colour, the first and most essential operation is the laying down and distributing the light and shade, applying each colour in such place as where the degree of shade is in strict agreement with the reflective power of the colour or tint in question. Such an effect may of course be accomplished by glazing down to the required degree of tone, by which process any false colour may be corrected and reduced to harmony, for then the colour assumes another tint, and is virtually changed. All colours depend upon the degree of light to which they are exposed; to represent, therefore, a colour in shade, the very quality of which owes its existence to the full light which falls upon it, is a violation of nature and of truth. All colours depend upon the power of their substances to absorb and reflect light; in every ray of white light there are the following primary colours, red, yellow, and blue, which with their intermediate and extreme tints constitute what is called the solar spectrum. Different rays are absorbed by different substances; in opaque white substances none are absorbed; and in black substances all are absorbed. In particular colours what is absorbed is complementary to what is reflected: thus a blue substance has absorbed red and yellow, or orange, which is complementary to blue;

a yellow substance has absorbed red and blue, or purple, which is complementary to yellow; and a red substance has absorbed blue and yellow, or green, which is complementary to red.<sup>k</sup> As, therefore, colour itself depends wholly upon light, it must be evident that light and shade and colouring cannot be separated in painting; also that the colouring of every picture must be regulated by the distribution or arrangement of its light and shade; that colour can be positive only in positive light; and that white itself cannot be white except in full light. Rembrandt, though he cannot have been acquainted with the laws of light and colour theoretically, appears still to have had a thorough perception of their properties, owing partly perhaps to organization, but certainly much to study and observation. And it can only be because these principles are more than ordinarily well illustrated and developed in his prints and pictures, that we find them so attractive and pleasing.

Shade is always more pleasing to the eye than light; but it is only by means of the light that the shade becomes perceptible and appreciated by the eye. It is one of the greatest faults in art to paint a picture without repose, to spread a uniform light, or to bestow equal diligence upon every part of a picture. In nature the eye dwells upon one spot at a time, to which it is attracted by some prominent

<sup>k</sup> See Dr. Brewster's *Analysis of Light*, in his 'Treatise on Optics.'

feature : this feature becomes the centre of a natural picture ; when the eye moves, it goes to some other object of sufficient prominence to attract it, which becomes the centre or point of sight of another natural picture. That such is particularly the case with interiors must be evident even to the most superficial observers ; every interior, by some accidental arrangement or other, presents a few obvious views or effects by which the attention of the eye is arrested, and which thus become the centres or points of sight of so many pictures ; the eye will not naturally rest upon any other points, and requires an effort of the mind or an extraneous influence to direct it upon them ; they are therefore clearly not so well developed or so prominent as the other parts, and these other parts accordingly acquire their importance by the retirement of the rest. It is then an essential quality in art that every picture must have not only its linear point of sight, but its focus of light and centre of attraction ; and if it has not this it wants unity ; the effect of one part is injured by another, the eye wanders over the picture in search of a central or principal object in vain, conveys no exact intelligence to the mind, and turns away from the picture to some other fixed point of interest to which it is impelled by the mind's natural operations. The artist therefore who neglects these essential principles of pictorial art is his own judge, and has brought about his own condemnation. Many otherwise elaborate



and comprehensive pictures, owing to the want of this centre of attraction and unity of effect, have, to the astonishment of the artist, failed to produce any effect beyond eliciting the extravagant praise of certain accessory parts, as a crown, a footstool, a chalice, or a piece of armour. But his own neglect or want of knowledge of this great principle of art has actually led him to break up his composition into so many distinct pictures, of which these accessories have, by their injudicious prominence, been made the centres of attraction, the whole being cut up into a certain number of equally prominent parts, and the picture is viewed and judged according to its merits. Rembrandt, however, is not an example of the exact developement of this principle, but rather of the abuse of it, because in many occasions the *unity* itself is his picture, represented in various forms. With Rembrandt a means became an end, for he made use of natural objects as a means of picturing light and shade, whereas the legitimate application of light and shade is to use it as a means of picturing natural objects, qualities, and events. But of course when a picture is a single object, such a defect becomes so much diminished that it is only on rare occasions that it can have any detrimental effect at all, and it could scarcely be excessive on any occasion if the objects of the picture were correctly and individually modelled. There is a Holy Family by Rembrandt which is really nothing more than a picture of

window-light in an ordinary apartment, and it is so far peculiar that the source of the light itself is in a measure pictured—the open day or the blue sky seen through the window. This piece of sky would have been much too prominent to admit of the unity and harmony we find in the picture, if Rembrandt had suffered it to be light clouding instead of the blue sky; and, though still a strong light, it is made to recede by the light shirt of Joseph, or the Carpenter, for he is engaged as such, placed in immediate juxtaposition with it. Blue is the least positive and least obtrusive of the primary colours, and its brightness or prominence is here completely subdued by the introduction of the light object near it, and it is further subdued by the colour of the wall immediately against it, which is of a yellow cast, and therefore in perfect harmony with the blue sky, for an orange tint is the accidental or complementary colour of blue, and is required by the nature of light and the organization of the eye to constitute harmony. The light is carried from the shirt of Joseph to the infant, its focus, but is only slightly spread on the intervening figure, and thus, though connected, the line is avoided and the central light at the same time made more important: some blue drapery of the knee of the mother, and the russet or red of the covering of the cradle independent of their harmony, help to distinguish their objects, and in some measure counteract the otherwise too great monotony of the tone of the

apartment and its various other objects, which is a warm, dark, tertiary colour, well suited to the nature of the picture. The objects in the picture are modelled with the characteristic negligence of Rembrandt. The light is cleverly diminished, and well directed to its object by the introduction of some pendent foliage outside the house, which hangs over and shades the higher part of the window: its colour is also of value towards cooling the tone of the picture in that part.

In the portrait of the Jew Merchant, in the National Gallery, we have the same principle of light, which comes suddenly and forcibly upon the head, giving it prominence, and then passes down the figure in a much expanded surface, until it is gradually lost: the colours are subdued and harmonious, and all of a tertiary degree. The distribution of light is very skilful; the head, though the farthest object from the spectator, is still the principal and most conspicuous; yet by spreading the light over the lower parts of the figure, Rembrandt has kept it perfectly in its place; the concentration of light on the head being balanced and prevented from appearing like a spot, by the broad base of light below: and though this is fully as strong as that on the face, the various parts act reciprocally in subduing one another, and allow the head to retain its full importance.

Rembrandt is said to have arranged the light in his painting-room expressly to produce the effect we have

in this and many other portraits ; and the universal admiration which succeeding generations have bestowed upon most of these pictures shows that Rembrandt's taste was not the mere whim of the individual. The eye rests with delight upon effects which contrast with its ordinary experience, especially when such effects are calculated to give it repose ; harmony and unity of light and shade are as agreeable to the eye as melody to the ear, and doubtless the same principles will account for the pleasure we derive from each.

Sir Joshua Reynolds certainly does injustice to Rembrandt when he says that his style is "equally distant from the demands of nature and the purposes of art." It has been the endeavour of these remarks to show that Rembrandt's style of light and shade is both eminently consistent with nature and fully adequate to high purposes of art. "Absolute unity," says Sir Joshua, "that is, a large work, consisting of one group or mass of light only, would be as defective as an heroic poem without episode, or any collateral incidents to recreate the mind with that variety which it always requires." This is not exactly the character of unity of light, but isolation of light ; a single light might be spread over a large composition, illuminate the whole distinctly and beautifully, preserve a centre of light and vision, and yet not have the slightest character of a spot, or be by any fixed boundary separated from that part of the picture which is in shade : if the light is

separated from the shade, there is no unity ; if it is not separated, there can be no spot. Though Rembrandt, as already observed, sometimes carried his principle to an extreme in practice, and occasionally applied it where it was not applicable, when it became manner, he has seldom produced what can be called a spot, or, in other words, has rarely painted a picture in which there is not a complete unity of light and shade. Sir Joshua continues, " Rembrandt's manner is absolute unity ; he often has but one group, and exhibits little more than one spot of light in the midst of a large quantity of shadow ; if he has a second mass, that second bears no proportion to the principal. Poussin, on the contrary, has scarce any principal mass of light at all, and his figures are often too much dispersed, without sufficient attention to place them in groups.

" The conduct of these two painters is entirely the reverse of what might be expected from their general style and character, the works of Poussin being as much distinguished for simplicity as those of Rembrandt for combination. Even this conduct of Poussin might proceed from too great an affection to simplicity, of *another kind*, too great a desire to avoid that ostentation of art, with regard to light and shadow, on which Rembrandt so much wished to draw the attention ; however, each of them run into contrary extremes, and it is difficult to determine which is the most reprehensible, both

being equally distant from the demands of nature and the purposes of art.”<sup>1</sup>

Unity of light and shade has been attempted also by Vanderwerf, but as in his pictures it is not combined with the consistent gradation and degree of colour, he has failed in producing the desired effect, though probably the light and shade in some of his works would appear perfect in a good engraving. Yet the works of Vanderwerf have another defect which interferes with the unity of light and shade; they are too uniformly modelled and elaborated, the most prominent and the most unimportant objects being equally defined. This gives a hard flatness to his works, which nevertheless, when considered with reference to the light and shade alone, are very far from being flat.

Rembrandt's works are, like the works of many other painters, so far peculiar, that a sprinkling of them among works of a different character in a collection is as much as can be desired; many of them together, by reason of the uniformity of the principles upon which they are produced, become disagreeable to the eye, and fatiguing to the mind. Sir Joshua Reynolds complained of this circumstance when viewing the Düsseldorf Gallery (now at Munich); he found both too many Rembrandts and too many Vanderwerfs together, which, by their equally individual character, were equally tiring. He says, “Here are too many Rembrandts

<sup>1</sup> Discourse VIII.

brought together; his peculiarity does not come amiss, when mixed with the performances of other artists of more regular manners: the variety then may contribute to relieve the mind fatigued with regularity. The same may be said of the Vanderwerfs: they also are too numerous. These pictures, however, tire the spectator for reasons totally opposite to each other; Rembrandt's have too much salt, and the Vanderwerfs too much water, on neither of which we can live."<sup>m</sup>

There are, however, several pictures by Rembrandt which have much more than merely his characteristic concentration of light. Sir Joshua himself has spoken of some of his works as exhibiting the highest degree of excellence in colour, and he has compared the colouring of others to Titian, as the picture of Professor Deeman with the dead body in the Surgeons' Hall at Amsterdam, his Susannah, and the portrait of a young man with a black cap and feathers, at the Hague; and his own portrait, then in the collection of M. Danoot, a banker at Brussels, now at Lansdowne House.

Of the first he says, "Professor Deeman is standing by a dead body, which is so much foreshortened, that the hands and the feet almost touch each other; the dead man lies on his back with his feet towards the spectator. There is something sublime in the character of the head, which reminds

<sup>n</sup> 'Journey to Flanders and Holland.'

one of Michelangelo; the whole is finely painted, the colouring much like Titian.”<sup>n</sup>

The etchings of Rembrandt have been alluded to as being in some respects better illustrations of the unity of light and shade than even many of the pictures. Of these, one of the most remarkable is the so-called Hundred Guilders, a composition of Christ healing the Sick, which acquired its name of the Hundred Guilders because Rembrandt refused to sell it for less—about eight guineas. A good impression of it is now worth from fifty to sixty guineas. The original plate was purchased by Alderman Boydell, and destroyed after a few impressions were taken from it, and good impressions are accordingly scarce; there is an indifferent copy of it by Worlidge. Rembrandt has distributed a larger body of light in this work than is usual with him, but it is unfinished: Christ is standing on an elevated spot in the centre of the composition, which contains about forty figures in whole or part; they are equally distributed on either side—one extremity, and Christ, being in full light, a sort of barn light, while the other is gradually subdued into half-shadow—and Rembrandt has added considerable charm to the effect by making the light come from the shaded side. The attitudes of many of the figures are remarkably expressive, and some are finely foreshortened, but all the men are Dutch Jews. Rembrandt's greatest works are still in

<sup>n</sup> ‘Journey to Flanders and Holland.’



Holland, and though the picture of Professor Tulp is equal to any that he ever painted, the large portrait-piece of the armed burgesses or national-guard of Amsterdam, known as *La Garde de Nuit*, formerly in the town-house, but now in the Museum at Amsterdam, is one of the most celebrated of his works; it was painted in 1642. Reynolds, however, did not concur in the common opinion on this work. He says, speaking of a similar picture by Vander Helst, "Of this picture I had before heard great commendations, but it as far exceeded my expectation as that of Rembrandt fell below it. So far indeed am I from thinking that this last picture deserves its great reputation, that it was with difficulty I could persuade myself that it was painted by Rembrandt; it seemed to me to have more of the yellow manner of Boll. The name of Rembrandt, however, is certainly upon it, with the date 1642. It appears to have been much damaged; but what remains seems to be painted in a poor manner."

These two pictures, which hang opposite to each other in the same apartment in the museum of Amsterdam, well illustrate the effects of the unity and the uniform dispersion of light. The work of Rembrandt is but one picture, that of Vander Helst might be a hundred: every object in it is in the same relative position to the eye, the work is therefore entirely wanting in unity, and can be examined only in detail, and successively as to its

parts. In the celebrated Night-Watch, however, Rembrandt has allowed his peculiar treatment to descend into manner; there is the unity of light and colour without the relative perspicuity of the light with relation to the darkness: the light itself is but darkness of a less degree. But the picture has doubtless suffered by time and inattention. In an upper chamber of the same museum there is a still more masterly picture by Rembrandt—the *Staalmeesters*: it represents the council or aldermen of one of the guilds of Amsterdam, and consists of five figures seated at a table in consultation. This picture is considered by some as Rembrandt's masterpiece: when new, probably, although it is painted with his characteristic boldness, it may have had an almost illusive effect of reality, so perfect are the gradations of light and shade.

Rembrandt resided in Amsterdam, from the time that he settled there in 1630, until his death, July 19, 1664. Many stories are told about Rembrandt's avarice, and other peculiarities imputed to him; but probably not one is founded on truth. The avarice, if there was any, was apparently due to his wife; for after her death, in 1642, he appears to have gradually become poorer until the year 1656, when he was declared insolvent. In 1642, after his wife's death, he was worth 40,750 florins; after his own death, his son Titus inherited only 6952 florins, which he received from the 'Boedel-

kamer' of Amsterdam, Sept. 9, 1665: his receipt for the amount is still extant.<sup>o</sup>

The most celebrated of Rembrandt's scholars were—Gerard Dow, Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, Ferdinand Bol, Govert Flink, Philip de Koning, and Samuel van Hoogstraten. Bol and Flink were his rivals in portraiture: Eeckhout approached the nearest to his peculiar treatment of light and shade. The principal contemporaries of Rembrandt were—Michiel Mierevelt, Frans Hals, and Bartholomeus Vander Helst already mentioned, whose reputation in portraiture was as great as that of Rembrandt himself, though he painted in an essentially opposite style.

This was also a great age for *genre painters*, a class of artists for which Holland is so distinguished that *genre* and the *Dutch style* are almost synonymous. The excellence of the Dutch in this respect can be seen only to proper advantage in the museums of Amsterdam and the Hague; all other

<sup>o</sup> Josi, 'Beredeneerde Catalogus der Werken van REMBRANDT VAN RHYN, en van zijne Leerlingen en Navolgeren, &c.,' Amsterdam, 1810, Preface: Van Eynden and Vander Willigen, 'Geschiedenis der Vaderlandsche Schilderkunst,' Amsterdam, 1816-42; Immerzeel, 'De Levens en Werken der Hollandsche en Vlaamsche Kunst-Schilders, &c.,' Amsterdam, 1842-3.

From what is stated above it is evident that Houbraken is in error when he places Rembrandt's death in 1674; it is, however, possibly a misprint for 1664. Rembrandt is commonly called Paul, but his name was not Paul: his family name is said to have been Gerritz; he is however known only as Rembrandt van Rhyne, or Rembrandt of the Rhine.

collections, not excepting that of Dresden, give an inadequate idea of the wonderful skill of the Dutch painters in this branch of art. Of these painters, the most distinguished were—Jan and Pieter Breughel—known as Velvet and Hell Breughel respectively, Adrian Brouwer, Gerard Dow, Jan van Hugtenburg, Karel du Jardin, Pieter Laer called Bamboccio, Jan Lingelbach, Nicolas Maas, Gabriel Metz, Frans van Mieris, Eglon van der Neer, Gasper Netscher, Adrian van Ostade, Cornelis Poelenburg, Paul Potter, Godfried Schalken, Pieter van Slingeland, Jan Steen, David Teniers, Gerard Terburg, and Philip Wouverman.

Of the landscape and marine painters of the same period, the following were the principal : Ludolph Bakhuizen, Nicolas Berchem, Jan and Andries Both, Albert Cuyp, Simon van der Does, Jan van Goyen, Jan Vermeer, Aart van der Neer, Jacob Ruisdael, Mindert Hobbema, Herman Sachtlevan, Herman Swaneveld, Adam Pynacker, Adrian and the two Williams Vande Velde, and Antoni Waterloo : of architectural painters—G. Hoekgeest, Jan van der Heyden, Pieter Neefs, Hendrik van Vliet, and Hendrik van Steenwyck : of painters of birds, still life, fruit, flowers, &c., the following :—Jan Davidsz de Heem, Melchior de Hondekoeter, Jan van Huysum, Rachel Ruisch, Jan Weenix, Jan Wynants ; Adrian van Utrecht, and Willem Kalf. Kalf's pictures of fruit, glass, plate, &c., are perfectly wonderful : Van Utrecht was perhaps the best of all the Dutch painters of game, dead birds &c.

All the above painters were artists of the highest excellence in their respective styles ; they are not, however, much more than a decimal part of the good painters of Holland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Those qualities which distinguished Dutch art in the seventeenth century have been its characteristics throughout, up to the present time, and are so still.

Some of the landscape painters are not free from manner, especially Jan Both and Berchem : and all the most eminent Dutch landscape painters have their distinctive characteristics. Berchem is known by his positive local colours and smooth uniform texture of surface for all objects ; Both, by his misty atmosphere and spotty dispersion of light ; Cuyp, by a prevailing sunny evening effect and general uniformity of colour with edgings of sunlight ; Wouverman, Ruisdael, and Hobbema, are not distinguished by any subjective peculiarity, their works being exact pictures of nature under the ordinary aspect of day-light. The execution of Wouverman is of the most masterly in the whole province of art ; and Ruisdael and Hobbema are distinguished for their excellent foliage. The proposed limits of this sketch will not admit of a more special notice of the very numerous masters of this school. The works of all amount to little more than a variety of more or less exact examples of the same essential development of art—Imitation.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

PAINTING IN FRANCE—DISTINCTIVELY CHARACTERIZED BY THE INFLUENCE OF THE ANTIQUE—ABUSE OF THE IDEAL OF FORM—DAVID.

THE French school of painting was, until the latter part of the eighteenth century, in all respects a branch of the schools of Italy. The earliest mature development dates from the reign of Francis I., who, as already indicated elsewhere, employed many distinguished Italian artists in France; and what is termed the French school arose from the examples left by these Italians at Fontainebleau. The masters who engrafted the Italian principles of art among the French were Il Rosso, Primaticcio, and Niccolo dell' Abate.

The earliest French painters of distinction, and the only two who cannot be said to belong to this Italianized school of the sixteenth century, were Jean Cousin and François Clouet, called Jeannet, who belonged to what is termed the Gothic school, and painted in the manner of the Italian *quattrocentisti*.

Of the new school the first distinguished French master was SIMON VouET (1582-1641); and he is sometimes dignified with the title of the founder of the French school of painting. Though an

artist of great distinction in his time, he is still more celebrated for the number of his able scholars, among whom were several of the greatest painters of France, as Le Brun, Le Sueur, Dufrenoy, Pierre Mignard, and Testelin. There was much of the mere machinist in Vouet's works. The same may be said of his contemporary, Jacques Blanchard: Jacques Stella was another contemporary competitor for fame. Moïse Valentin, likewise of the same period, adopted the style of Caravaggio, and became one of the most distinguished masters of the *naturalist* school at Rome, where he chiefly resided.

The seventeenth century, however, or the reign of Louis XIV., was the great age of the Italian school of painting in France: to this period belong its two most celebrated masters, Eustache Lesueur and Charles Le Brun.

EUSTACHE LESUEUR (1617–1655), though the ablest French painter of the seventeenth century, had no influence on the art of his time; his predominant religious tendency was not in accordance with the spirit of the age; and although he was, after his death, and is now, acknowledged as a great painter, his works were not appreciated in his lifetime, except by those who imagined it to be their interest to depreciate them—Le Brun and his followers: Le Brun is said to have openly expressed his satisfaction at the early death of Lesueur. It is remarkable that Lesueur, one of the most

*Italian* of the French painters, never left Paris; he is called the French Raphael, the prints after whose works he must evidently have diligently studied: some of his masterpieces are worthy of that great painter in style, though they are rather histrionic than dramatic in their composition; studied arrangement is too obvious: this is true of his greatest work, St. Paul preaching at Ephesus, and the Gentiles burning their proscribed books, painted in 1649, in his 32nd year.<sup>a</sup>—Still Lesueur approached Raphael in the character of his heads, the style of his compositions, and the arrangements of his draperies, perhaps more nearly than any of his Italian imitators. His great series of pictures illustrating the life of St. Bruno is equal to any similar work of modern art.<sup>b</sup>

CHARLES LE BRUN (1619–1690) was a more characteristic exponent of the spirit of his times than Lesueur: war and tumult are the elements of his style: his masterpieces are the five battles of Alexander, painted doubtless in adulation of his master Louis XIV. There is great vigour but little real taste and less refinement of sentiment in the works of Le Brun. The principal contemporaries of these painters were Pierre and Nicolas Mignard, Philippe de Champagne, Louis Testelin, Nicolas Loir, Charles Alphonse Dufrenoy, Sebas-

<sup>a</sup> Engraved by Stephen Picart and R. U. Massard.

<sup>b</sup> See the writer's notice of Le Sueur in the 'Penny Cyclopædia.'



tien Bourdon, distinguished as a landscape painter ; and Jacques Courtois, called Bourguignon, and Joseph Parrocel, both celebrated battle and *genre* painters. To these may be added, as eminent painters of the seventeenth century, Antoine Coypel, Bon Boullogne, Charles de Lafosse, Jean Jouvenet, Hyacinthe Rigaud : also Jean Baptiste Monnoyer and Antoine Watteau, the former an admirable flower painter, and the latter distinguished for his fêtes-champêtres, excellent pictures of the female costume and manners of the age of Louis XIV.

Of the eighteenth century there are still fewer and less brilliant names to chronicle than of the seventeenth. Of this age, perhaps, the prince was FRANÇOIS LEMOINE (1688-1737), a kindred genius with Pietro da Cortona. His Apotheosis of Hercules, painted in oil on canvas, and fixed to the ceiling of the Salon d'Hercule at Versailles, is perhaps the most magnificent monument of painting in France: it contains one hundred and forty-two figures. It is, however, in the superficial style of his model, Cortona, and is strictly a *Pittura di Macchina*. The contemporaries of Lemoine were Charles Natoire, Pierre Subleyras, François Boucher, and Charles André Vanloo. Of nearly the same time also was JOSEPH MARIE VIEN (1716-1809), a painter of very superior powers. In landscape Claude Joseph Vernet, and in genre Jean Baptiste Greuze, were the most eminent masters in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

Vien is considered the regenerator of painting in France. Vanloo and Boucher had brought it to the lowest state of insipidity; and as art never remains stationary, and could scarcely descend to a lower state, an improvement apparently was the natural consequence. It was, however, in the technical qualities, rather than in style, that Vien improved the art of his time; he restored it to what it was about the middle of the seventeenth century in Italy, during the reign of the Carracceschi. He strenuously inculcated the necessity of studying nature and the antique, attributing the excellence of the great Italian masters to the intimate combination of these two studies. The peculiar development of painting during the period of the French empire is, doubtless, much due to the emphatic lessons of Vien regarding the imitation of the antique, which was ultimately carried to an excess by his pupils, Vincent and David, and their scholars.

With JACQUES LOUIS DAVID (1748–1825) a new era of painting commenced in France, but in its first period it was characterized by what may be termed a morbid imitation of the antique; it was little more than a constant repetition of the physical proportions of certain ideal Greek statues, rendered still more offensive by the general adoption of the Greek monumental heroic costume. Many of David's pictures are mere groups of statues, of uniform character; his very flesh is as hard as marble: they are distinguished also for an extrava-

gance of attitude. David was doubtless a painter of immense power, though wholly deficient in taste and wanting in judgment. The painter of the Revolution (he was principal painter to Napoleon), he died an exile at Brussels.

Of the numerous scholars of David, Gerard Gros, Girodet, Abel de Pujol, and Drolling, are the most distinguished. Drouais, Guérin, and his celebrated pupil Gericault, belong to the same school; but Gericault was not engrossed by that singleness of purpose which is the general characteristic of the school: his *Wreck of the Medusa* is a very remarkable production.<sup>c</sup> However, the majority of these masters, though distinguished for the excessive partiality for the antique which characterizes the works of David, were great painters notwithstanding this peculiarity.

PIERRE NARCISSE GUÉRIN (1774-1833) was probably the most characteristic representative of the style in question. His works are the perfection of manner, in imitation of the antique. By *antique manner* is meant the literal translation of the characteristic ideality of Greek sculpture into colour, without giving it either life or motion. *Æneas recounting the Fate of Troy to Dido*, a picture by Guérin in the Louvre, is a gorgeous and elaborate work, especially in the costume and accessories, but is utterly inanimate, and is not in the

<sup>c</sup> There is an admirable mezzotint of this picture by S. W. Reynolds; it is a triumph of the art.

slightest degree dramatic, which is partly owing to the uniformly dispersed light and the equal elaboration of all the parts, by which its unity is destroyed. It is a mere juxta-position of four elaborately painted figures—Æneas, Dido, Ascanius, and Anna. Æneas is not relating, nor is Dido listening. The whole of this peculiarity is owing to the absorbing principle of classic ideality of form.<sup>d</sup>

FRANÇOIS GERARD (1770–1837), one of the greatest of modern painters, was much less exclusively devoted to this antique affectation, though some of his early works rival those of Guérin in this respect; but Gerard was also one of the principal representatives of another style of painting which prevailed during, and arose out of, the French Revolution—the great military pictorial chronicles of that period. In fact, great battle-pieces and ceremonies of martial pomp constituted the chief historic art of the period: genre-painting on a large scale usurped the place of high art, for all other productions were secondary to these great battle-pieces, groups of uniforms, representing generally contemporary triumphs. Gerard's masterpiece, however, in this class, is the Entrance of Henry IV. into Paris, now at Versailles; it was painted after the Restoration as a substitute for the battle of Austerlitz, which he had painted for the Tuileries during the empire, in 1810. Gerard was the principal French portrait painter of his time.

<sup>d</sup> There is an engraving of this picture by Forster.

JEAN GERMAIN DROUAI (1763–1788), from whom much had been expected, died at too early an age to produce many works; but though his pictures are few, some of them are reckoned among the best works of the modern French school; his masterpiece is *Marius at Minturnæ*. There is a cut illustrating the peculiar character of the French school of this period, in Count Raczynski's 'Histoire de l'Art Moderne,' &c.<sup>e</sup> It represents three celebrated compositions of three of the most distinguished masters of the school: the Oath of the Horatii, by David; the Offering to Esculapius, by Guérin; and *Marius at Minturnæ*, by Drouais; all of which works sufficiently exemplify the then prevailing paramount imitation of the antique.

With the restoration, however, of the old government in France, a restoration of the taste in art was likewise evinced. LEOPOLD ROBERT (1793–1835), one of the most talented painters in France of his period, forsook the pomp of war and the ideal of the antique for the simple and beautiful in Nature herself. He studied a short time under David, but went early to Italy; and from the time of his residence in that country he devoted all his energies to the picturing the striking passages of ordinary life in Italy, which, from climate, position, and the character of its people, presents, like Spain,

<sup>e</sup> It is copied in the 'Pictorial Gallery of Arts,' Vol. ii. p. 393. The reader may consult this work for many other illustrations of the principles spoken of in this sketch.

but one vast field of poetry, romance, and the picturesque. Leopold Robert produced several striking pictures, all of which are distinguished as much by their excellence as works of art, as by their characteristic illustration of national habits and local customs.<sup>f</sup>

D'Argenville, 'Abrégé de la Vie des plus fameux Peintres,' &c. ; Felibien, 'Entretiens sur les Vies et sur les Ouvrages des plus excellens Peintres,' &c. ; Gault de Saint Germain, 'Trois Siècles de la Peinture en France,' &c. ; Gabet, 'Dictionnaire des Artistes de l'Ecole Française,' Robert Dumesnil, 'Le Peintre-Graveur Français,' &c. See also the 'Penny Cyclopædia' and its Supplement, which contain notices of many distinguished French painters.

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## CHAPTER XXXIII.

PAINTING IN ENGLAND—DISTINCTIVELY CHARACTERIZED BY THE INFLUENCE OF REMBRANDT, MEDIATELY THROUGH SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS—COLOUR AND EFFECT AS AN END.

WITH the following rapid view of the progress of painting in England, the proposed objects of this sketch will be completed. Painting has been the theme throughout, not painters; the art itself in its various development has been the object of review; painters who have not been distinguished for any other service than that of repeating what had already been done by others, have been merely named, and that only in such cases where they were of high merit, or the principal promoters of the art in their respective localities. The same course will be pursued in the review of painting in England.

As we have seen it to be the case in many other countries, so the native school of England is of comparatively recent date. What the Italian painters did immediately in Spain and France, was done by Flemish and German masters in England; the art of Italy operating thus mediately likewise in this country. We have no record of English artists of importance previous to the reign of Charles I., and the masters of this period were almost exclusively

portrait painters. Before the time of Charles, all important works in painting were intrusted to foreigners, and also during his and some subsequent reigns foreign artists had more especially the public favour.

England possessed one celebrated artist of her own in the reign of Henry VI. ; this was WILLIAM AUSTEN the founder, and the artist of the celebrated monument to Richard de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, in St. Mary's church, at Warwick: a work which shows Austen to have been little inferior to his celebrated Italian contemporaries, Donatello and Ghiberti. Richard Earl of Warwick died in 1439.<sup>a</sup>

Henry VII. appears to have been one of the first British monarchs who paid any attention to the arts. He employed some distinguished foreign artists; among the painters, JAN MABUSE was the principal. In the following reign, that of Henry VIII., a much greater activity commenced: one of the first painters in Europe was then domiciliated in this country—Holbein. HANS HOLBEIN, a native of Switzerland, established himself in England in 1526—an early period of his career, though already an artist of great eminence; and he remained in this country until his death in 1554, in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

Holbein is chiefly distinguished as a portrait painter, though he was not exclusively such. He

<sup>a</sup> See the writer's notice of AUSTEN in the 'Supplement to the Penny Cyclopædia.'



represents the simple exact imitative school of portraiture, in which the principal motive is mere resemblance, not of character, but of feature. Many of Holbein's works are perfect of their class; but he is not the painter of all the pictures that are attributed to him. From the following anecdote, told by Walpole, it would appear that *exactness* was, unfortunately, not always characteristic of Holbein. He was sent by Cromwell, Henry's minister, to take a portrait of Lady Anne of Cleves; and, says Walpole, "by practising the common flattery of his profession, was the immediate cause of the destruction of that great subject (Cromwell), and of the disgrace that fell on the princess herself. He drew so favourable a likeness, that Henry was content to wed her; but when he found her so inferior to the miniature, the storm which really should have been directed to the painter burst on the minister; and Cromwell lost his head because Anne was a *Flanders mare*, not a Venus, as Holbein had represented her."<sup>b</sup>

Holbein was succeeded by Sir Antony More (Antoni Moro), the principal painter of Queen Mary, Lucas de Heere, and Federigo Zuccherò, artists employed by Elizabeth. Two English artists distinguished themselves in the reign of Elizabeth—NICHOLAS HILLIARD and his pupil ISAAC OLIVER, both celebrated miniature painters. Hilliard was afterwards a favourite with James I. Oli-

<sup>b</sup> 'Anecdotes of Painting,' &c.

ver was one of the best miniature painters in Europe ; his son, Peter Oliver, was likewise distinguished in the same branch of art. The following eminent foreign painters, however, were the principal masters in England during the reign of James I. : —Paul Van Somer, Cornelius Jansens, and Daniel Mytens : the last was little inferior to Vandyck in portraiture. The sculptor NICHOLAS STONE was the most distinguished native artist of this reign. The reign of Charles I. presents a numerous list of both foreign and native artists. Of the former, Abraham Vanderdort, keeper of the king's collections, Sir Balthasar Gerbier, Abraham Diepenbeck, Mytens, Rubens, Vandyck, Honthorst, Petitot, and many others. Of native painters the following:—GEORGE JAMESONE, called the Scottish Vandyck, WILLIAM DOBSON, ROBERT WALKER, RICHARD GIBSON, the dwarf, FRANCIS BARLOW, and NICHOLAS STONE the younger, commonly called *Old Stone*. Walker and Dobson, both portrait painters, were worthy of their contemporary Vandyck. Gibson the dwarf was also excellent in water-colour drawings of heads. Barlow was distinguished for his pictures of hawking, and birds on the wing, generally. Old Stone studied long in Italy, and was an excellent colourist. In the reign of Charles II. the principal foreign artists employed in this country were—Antonio Verrio, Sir Peter Lely, Gerard Zoust, and the two Vande Veldes, celebrated marine painters.

The native artists of this time were less distinguished than those of the preceding reign. SAMUEL COOPER (1609–1672), the miniature painter, was the only artist of great eminence. He was called the *Vandyck in little*: Walpole, in comparing the works of Cooper and Oliver, says—“ Oliver’s works are touched and re-touched with such careful fidelity, that you cannot help perceiving nature in the abstract: Cooper’s are so bold that they seem perfect nature, only of a less standard. Magnify the former, they are still diminutively conceived; if a glass could expand Cooper’s pictures to the size of Vandyck’s, they would appear to have been painted for that proportion.”

In the time of William III., Sir Godfrey Kneller, Sir John Medina, and the flower painter Jean Baptiste Monnoyer, were the chief foreign representatives of the art. Of native painters JOHN RILEY was the most distinguished: he was the master of the elder Richardson, who married Riley’s niece. Sebastian Ricci, a celebrated Venetian painter, visited England in the reign of Queen Anne.

With the Georges a more active æra again commences, and the foreigners were from this time gradually but steadily superseded by native artists, who soon completely surpassed them, both in quality and in quantity. Louis Laguerre, Michael Dahl, Balthasar Denner, Jean Antoine Arlaud, the miniature painter, Giacomo Amigoni, and Jean Baptiste

Vanloo, were the last of the host of foreign masters who reaped a harvest in England. Their British contemporaries were—JONATHAN RICHARDSON, CHARLES JERVAS, WILLIAM AIKMAN, SIR JAMES THORNHILL, JOSEPH HIGHMORE, THOMAS HUDSON, the son-in-law of Richardson, and the master of Sir Joshua Reynolds, and WILLIAM HOGARTH. Jonathan Richardson was a good painter of a head, and perhaps the best critic on art England has yet produced: his writings are still the best of their class in the English language; he was, indeed, one of the best informed and soundest critics of the whole province of art. Though the first painter of a head of his time, he painted, nevertheless, in the dry manner which prevailed generally in England during the period, and which was a kind of third edition of Vandyck, deteriorating in regular progression. Lely and his school represent the second, and Sir Godfrey Kneller and his contemporaries the third. Kneller was as much inferior to Lely, as Lely was inferior to Vandyck. Much, however, of the unmeaning formality of the portraiture of that age was owing to the monstrous costume of the period, which, with its crowning absurdity the wig, made all men of the same age look alike. Richardson died in 1745, upwards of eighty years of age.

With Sir James Thornhill commenced the first extensive employment of native talent in Great Britain; and this was due to the patriotism of the Earl of Halifax, but for whom the works executed

by Thornhill would have been intrusted to Sebastian Ricci. That the Italian would have done them better there can be no doubt; but if the arts were to rise in Britain at all, some such surmounting of the barrier of prejudice was imperative, whatever may have been the immediate cost. The productions of this painter in St. Paul's and Greenwich Hospital have little to recommend them as works of high art. The example also seems to have been without due effect.

Sir James Thornhill's son-in-law, WILLIAM HOGARTH, is the first great name in the annals of British art; and he was more of the satirist than the painter, though in this respect also he is entitled to rank with the most eminent masters of his class in Europe: as a painter he belongs to the province of the higher *genre*. When his origin is considered, it is remarkable that he attained to the great technical excellence which indisputably distinguishes his best pictures. Born of poor parents, and bred an engraver of crests and ciphers on silver and metal plates, nothing but the most persevering energy could have carried him to the eminence he afterwards attained. "Our juvenile satirist," says Ireland, "was apprenticed to a Mr. Ellis Gamble, who kept a silversmith's shop in Cranbourn-Alley, Leicester-fields. This vender of salvers and sauceboats had in his own house two or three *rare artisans*, whose employment was to engrave ciphers and armorial symbols, not only on the articles his master sold,

but on any that he might have to mark from *cunning workmen*, in silver or meaner metals. In this branch he covenanted to instruct William Hogarth, who about the year 1712 became a practical student in Mr. Gamble's *Attic academy*. In this *school of science* we may fairly conjecture his first essays were the initials on teaspoons: he would next be taught the *art and mystery* of the double cipher, where four letters in opposite directions are so skilfully interwoven, that it requires almost an apprenticeship to learn the art of deciphering them. Having conquered his alphabet, he ascended to the representation of those heraldic monsters which first grinned upon the shields of the holy army of Crusaders, and were from thence transferred to the massy tankards and ponderous two-handled cups of their stately descendants. By copying this legion of *hydras, gorgons, and chimeras dire*, he attained an early taste for the ridiculous, and in the grotesque countenance of a baboon or a bear, the cunning eye of a fox, or the fierce front of a rampant lion, traced the characteristic varieties of the human physiognomy. He soon felt that *the science which appertaineth unto the bearing of coat-armnurs* was not suited to his taste or talents; and, tired of the amphibious many-coloured brood that people the fields of heraldry, listened to the voice of Genius, which whispered him *to read the mind's construction in the face*, to study and delineate MAN."

Hogarth first earned his livelihood by engraving prints for booksellers ; and he often sold some of his plates for little more than the mere value of the copper. He next set up as a portrait painter, in which capacity he obtained considerable employment. His own portrait in the National Gallery, and Captain Coram's in the Foundling Hospital, are capital specimens of his ability in this department of art. Many of his designs exist only in prints. Of his paintings, the three following series are the most celebrated :—The Rake's Progress ; the Harlot's Progress ; and the Marriage à la Mode, now in the National Gallery. Independent of the wholesome satire of these works, they are excellent costume pictures and also good paintings.

“ Hogarth,” says Walpole, “ had no model to follow and improve upon. He created his art, and used colours instead of language. His place is between the Italians, whom we may consider as epic poets and tragedians, and the Flemish painters, who are as writers of farce, and editors of burlesque nature. They are the Tom Browns of the mob. Hogarth resembles Butler, but his subjects are more universal, and amidst all his pleasantry he observes the true end of comedy, reformation. There is always a moral to his pictures. Sometimes he rose to tragedy, not in the catastrophe of kings and heroes, but in marking how vice conducts insensibly and incidentally to misery and shame. He warns against encouraging cruelty and idle-

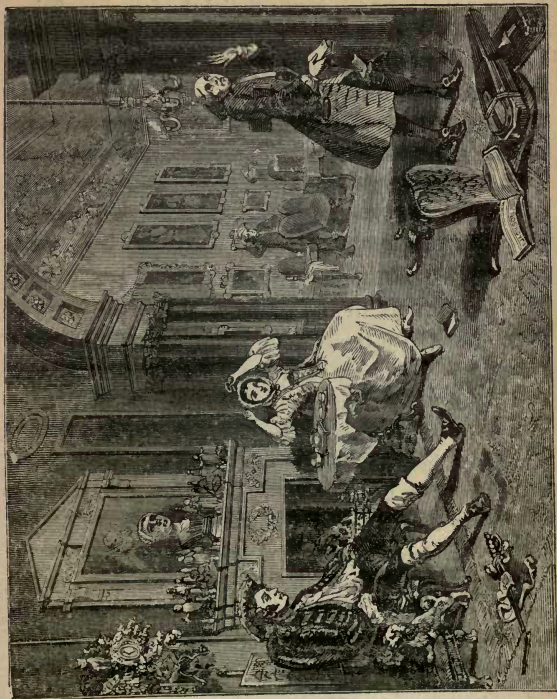
ness in young minds, and discerns how the different vices of the great and vulgar lead by various paths to the same unhappiness." Hogarth died in London, October 6, 1764, in his sixty-eighth year.<sup>c</sup>

Hogarth's was the period of the revival of painting in England in every department of the art; the hitherto brightest names in the annals of English painting were his contemporaries—Sir Joshua Reynolds, Gainsborough, Wilson, West, Romney, Cotes, Cosway, Barry, and Mortimer: to whom may be added the foreigners—De Louthembourg, Zoffany, Cipriani, Moser, and Fuseli, all domiciliated in England.

SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS, the *caposcuola* of the British school of painting in the latter part of the eighteenth century, was born at Plympton, in Devonshire, July 16, 1723. He was placed in 1741 with Hudson, the portrait painter, who set him to copy Guercino's drawings,—a mode of teaching which seems to have sown the germs of an inaccuracy and indecision of style which characterized Reynolds throughout the whole of his career. In 1749 he accompanied Commodore Keppel, as that officer's guest, in the *Centurion*, to the Mediterranean: he arrived at Rome in the same year, and spent altogether three years in Italy. In

<sup>c</sup> Walpole, 'Anecdotes of Painting,' &c.; Nichols, 'Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth, &c.:' Ireland, 'Hogarth illustrated.'





Mariage à la-Mode.

1752 he returned to England, and after a short stay at his native place established himself in London, where he acquired wealth and honours, and was finally buried with great pomp in St. Paul's Cathedral: he died February 23, 1792, in his sixty-ninth year.

Reynolds has been justly styled the founder of the British school of painting: the characteristics by which it has been hitherto distinguished are certainly due to his example. The partiality, however, of British criticism has awarded him an unqualified praise little justified by his works. "To the grandeur, the truth, and simplicity of Titian," says Northcote, "and to the daring strength of Rembrandt, he has united the chasteness and delicacy of Vandyck." Titian was doubtless Sir Joshua's model in colouring, and Rembrandt in effect; but with the style of Vandyck, chiefly conspicuous for purity of form and modelling, the works of Sir Joshua have little affinity: he was also less vigorous and less natural than Titian, and much behind Rembrandt in force. Compared, however, with the prevailing style of his own time—the dry manner of his immediate predecessors—he was indeed a great master in portrait: his graceful composition and breadth of light and shade, combined with the rich and mellow tone of his colouring, were well calculated to fascinate the taste of a public familiarised only with the works of such painters as Hudson, Jervas, and Kneller. The beauties of his style are displayed to most advantage in the portraits of females and children; and perhaps they are displayed to their utmost in the large fancy-portrait-piece in the National Gallery representing three sisters decorating a terminal figure of Hymen. This picture illustrates



Lear. After a Study by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

his peculiarities of style ; in some of his best works, however, these peculiarities are subordinate to higher qualities, as in the magnificent allegorical portrait of Mrs. Siddons, at Dulwich, his masterpiece, and in the portraits of Lords Heathfield and Rodney ; the former in the National Gallery, the latter in St. James's Palace. Reynolds's principal object, and that of the school which arose from his example, was *effect*, such an effect as is attained in the best portraits of Rembrandt ; and as this quality is rather injured than advanced by minute and

elaborate modelling, the very grammar of the art, as it were, was neglected. The mere object of the style ensured this result, but when negligence in modelling is virtually inculcated as a principle, high art, or the grand style, as it is termed, is attacked in its most vital element. The principle of Sir Joshua was, that likeness and individual character depended more upon the "general effect" than upon the "exact expression of the peculiarities or minute discrimination of the parts." A painter whose practice is guided by this principle must find his sphere very circumscribed, and will eventually discover the exact expression of peculiarity and individual character very difficult of attainment. No better examples are needed than the historical pictures of Sir Joshua himself; as the Holy Family in the National Gallery, and the Death of Cardinal Beaufort at Dulwich, both of which pictures are mere sketches on a large scale, with the attendant defects of such works magnified in proportion. Reynolds had some influence upon his contemporaries, but with his immediate successors he was paramount; and his florid *unfinish* and undefined forms not only characterized painting in England, but became the principal goal of the painter and the general standard of excellence. His influence, however, has wholly declined of late years, and the following words from his own writings appear remarkably applicable to his own case:—"Present

time and future may be considered as rivals, and he who solicits the one must expect to be discountenanced by the other."<sup>d</sup>

GEORGE ROMNEY (1734-1802), though chiefly distinguished for his poetical compositions, was many years the rival of Sir Joshua Reynolds in portraiture. His style of painting, however, was very different, being chiefly characterised by a vigorous expression of form. Romney almost superseded Reynolds for a time in portraiture. This is acknowledged by Northcote, who says, in his 'Life of Reynolds:—“Certain it is that Sir Joshua was not much employed in portraits after Romney grew into fashion.” Lord Thurlow also is reported to have said:—“Reynolds and Romney divide the town; I am of the Romney faction.” These two “factions” may be most obviously, but not exactly, characterised as those of form and colour. Romney was, however, more distinguished for his poetical conceptions, and for his cartoons, than for his painting. A very high character is given to his works and genius by his friend and admirer Flaxman. He says:—“When Romney first began to paint, he had seen no gallery of pictures, nor the fine productions of ancient sculpture: but then women and children were his statues, and all objects under the cope of heaven formed his school of painting.” “His genius bore a strong resemblance to the scenes

<sup>d</sup> Northcote, 'Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds,' &c.

he was born in: like them, it partook of the grand and beautiful; and like them, also, the bright sunshine and enchanting prospects of his fancy were occasionally overspread with mist and gloom." "Few painters have left so many examples in their works of the tender and delicate affections; and several of his pictures breathe a kindred spirit with the Sigismonda of Correggio. His cartoons, some of which have unfortunately perished, were examples of the sublime and terrible; at that time perfectly new in English art." "His compositions, like those of the ancient pictures and basso-relievos, told their story by a single group of figures in the front; whilst the background is made the simplest possible, rejecting all unnecessary episode and trivial ornaments, either of secondary groups or architectural subdivision. In his compositions the beholder was forcibly struck by the sentiment at the first glance; the gradations and varieties of which he traced through several characters, all conceived in an elevated spirit of dignity and beauty, with a lively expression of nature in all the parts. His heads were various; the male were decided and grand; the female lovely; his figures resembled the antique; the limbs were elegant and finely formed; his drapery was well understood." "Few artists since the fifteenth century have been able to do so much in so many different branches."

\* Hayley's 'Life of Romney.' There is a Life also of

Many of Romney's works are to be seen in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, and in the Royal Institution at Liverpool.

BENJAMIN WEST (1738–1820), the principal historical painter of the English school, by birth an American, is distinguished more for his persevering diligence than for any brilliancy of talent. He has left many and extensive works, but they are remarkably uniform in their style, and are conspicuous also for a want of individuality of character. His drawing is generally good, and many of his designs are powerfully conceived and finely composed, but in colouring he was very deficient. His first picture which attracted much notice was the Death of General Wolfe, by which he conferred a great service upon the arts through the breach of a common and absurd practice prevailing at that time of representing in historical compositions modern characters in ancient costumes. Sir Joshua Reynolds was among those who considered the innovation an injurious one. The following is, according to Galt, West's own account of this subject:—

“When it was understood that I intended to paint the characters as they had actually appeared on the scene, the Archbishop of York called on Reynolds and asked his opinion; they both came to my house to dissuade me from running so great a risk. Reynolds began a very ingenious and this painter by his son, the Rev. John Romney; and another in Cunningham's ‘Lives of the British Painters,’ &c.

elegant dissertation on the state of the public taste in this country, and the danger which every innovation incurred of contempt and ridicule, and concluded by urging me earnestly to adopt the costume of antiquity, as more becoming the greatness of my subject than the modern garb of European warriors. I answered, that 'the event to be commemorated happened in the year 1758, in a region of the world unknown to Greeks and Romans, and at a period of time when no warriors who wore such costume existed. The subject I have to represent is a great battle fought and won; and the same truth which gives law to the historian should rule the painter. If, instead of the facts of the action, I introduce fictions, how shall I be understood by posterity? The classic dress is certainly picturesque, but by using it I shall lose in sentiment what I gain in external grace. I want to mark the place, the time, and the people; and to do this I must abide by truth.' They went away then, and returned again when I had the painting finished. Reynolds seated himself before the picture, examined it with deep and minute attention for half an hour; then, rising, said to Drummond, 'West has conquered—he has treated his subject as it ought to be treated: I retract my objections. I foresee that this picture will not only become one of the most popular, but will occasion a revolution in art.' ”

Galt, 'Life and Studies of Benjamin West.'



JAMES BARRY (1741–1806), a native of Ireland, was the very opposite of West in the general character of his works—his mind appears to have been engrossed by some undefined idea of grandeur, of which he saw no traces in the works of his contemporaries, and which accordingly his impetuous character treated with little charity. His notions of grandeur appear to have been too closely identified with vastness. The series of paintings in the Great Room at the Adelphi, which Barry painted gratuitously, display much power of thought, but at the same time exhibit with equal force the undisciplined mind and pencil of their author. These pictures are intended to represent the history of the civilization of man: there are in all six subjects—Orpheus; a Grecian Harvest-Home; Crowning the Victors at Olympia; Commerce, or the Triumph of the Thames; the Distribution of Premiums in the Society of Arts; and Elysium, or the State of Final Retribution. The Crowning the Victors at Olympia possesses the greatest beauties of design, but the Harvest-Home is on the whole the most perfect as a picture and in composition.

Barry is generally spoken of as a martyr to pure enthusiasm for high art: his whole conduct, however, shows that his own genius was the idol he worshipped; and all his misfortunes may be traced to an inordinate esteem for his own productions,

and a heartless depreciation of the efforts of others.<sup>g</sup>

HENRY FUSELI, or rather FÜSSLI (1741-1825), was in one respect somewhat similar to Barry: his imagination was too active for the control of his judgment, and his hand wanted the power to express, as works of art, what his mind conceived. Many of his works, conceived with all the power of a fervid poetic fancy, are in their execution as designs mere burlesques of Michelangelo and the antique; and his forms are a series of repetitions. Fuseli's principal work is his Milton Gallery in fifty-six designs, powerful and extraordinary in their conception, but equally extravagant and incorrect in their execution. His eight compositions for Boydell's Shakspeare Gallery are likewise among Fuseli's best works. As writers, both Barry and Fuseli are among the best critics on art in European literature, though their writings are not wholly free from the extravagances of their intellectual characters.

RICHARD WILSON (1713-1782), brought up a portrait painter, went to Italy in 1749 in that capacity. It was in Italy that he turned landscape painter; and this decision is said to have been made in consequence of the opinions of Zuccarelli at Venice and Joseph Vernet at Rome, on some sketches that he had made of Italian scenery.

<sup>g</sup> See his Life by Allan Cunningham, in the 'Lives of the most eminent British Painters,' &c.

Wilson, though of a very different character from Barry, was scarcely less unfortunate in the patronage he met with from the public at large; and this neglect is less easily accounted for than that of many artists of greater pretensions; for Wilson's style and works are perfectly intelligible even to the many, and they are not disfigured by any manner or characteristic imperfection.

For selection, composition, and the general treatment of his subjects, Wilson, if not superior to all other landscape painters, has certainly yet never been surpassed and very seldom been equalled: his style is at the same time conspicuously natural and select, and eminently poetical. In comparing him with some of the minute painters of the Netherlands, his style may be termed generic, while theirs is specific. His handling is regulated by principles of effect, but of universal appearances, not of individual detail; and there is nothing whatever of convention in his execution. His pictures display the beauties of Salvator Rosa, Ruisdael, and Claude combined: bold and massive foregrounds, picturesque and verdant foliage, ærial expanse, and endless distance.<sup>h</sup>

THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH (1727-1788), the rival of Sir Joshua Reynolds in portrait and of Wilson in landscape, is a master of whom any school might boast.

To the above names the annals of British art can add many of nearly equal renown: but in history

<sup>h</sup> Wright, 'Life of Richard Wilson,' &c.

and high art the English school is still only incipient. The most conspicuous masters in the department of History are—Opie, Northcote, Westall, Copley, Runciman, Harlow, Hilton, &c.; in Portrait, Sir T. Lawrence, Hoppner, Owen, Jackson, Raeburn; in *Genre*, Wilkie, Bird, Smirke, Newton; and in Landscape, Constable, Callcott, and Collins. To these might be added many other names of distinction in the various departments of painting.<sup>i</sup>

<sup>i</sup> Cunningham's 'Lives' contain notices of several of the above painters, and some others not mentioned; the reader will find also notices of almost every deceased British artist of distinction in the 'Penny Cyclopædia' and its Supplement.



Group from the Village Festival.—Wilkie.

THE HISTORY OF THE

(From the Village of ...)

## CONCLUSION.

SUCH is the general outline of the history of painting; here necessarily brief in many parts, and insufficient, within so circumscribed a limit; biographical, and that but slightly, only when the individual was of the utmost importance generally or locally, as in such cases as those of Masaccio, Da Vinci, Michelangelo, Raphael, Correggio, Titian, the Carracci, Rubens, Rembrandt, and a few others; names as representing certain more or less essential developments of art, each of them of more consequence in its history than whole generations of previous or subsequent artists.

We have seen that the progress of art is slow in all times and in all places: two great periods of development have been traced—that of Pericles and his immediate successors, from 400 B.C. to the time of Alexander; and that of Julius II., 1500 A.D., after a lapse of nearly 2000 years, and in both cases the decline was sudden compared with the slow steady progress of the establishment of the art. Nearly three centuries elapsed in Greece from the first considerable development of painting to the period of its ultimate refinement—from Solon to Alexander; and its rapid decline commenced from that period. The course of the art in modern times is very similar

—from Giotto to Raphael almost an equal period elapsed, and the very scholars of Raphael outlived the term of its pure existence. A partial revival must be allowed to the Carracci, but, as already shown, it was a revival of the form, not of the essence of art.

There is now every prospect of a third great development of art, which will certainly happen much within the term of two thousand years, the interval between its first and second periods. Germany has already assumed a high position in the sentiment of art; in France the technical development is perfect; and for England likewise the dawn of a great future is appearing. Germany has long taken the lead in the sentiment of art, though unfortunately its sentiment is alloyed with convention and affectation. Asmus Jacob Carstens was one of the earliest artists of Germany who forsook the mere mechanical routine of his time and entered earnestly into the utmost capabilities of art. Carstens was followed by a still more remarkable man, Friedrich Overbeck, who has had a surprising influence upon the German artists of his time. A style, however, so purely conventional as Overbeck's can have but a transient reign, though as a means of conducting the artist from a mere academic mechanism to a contemplation of the real capability and destiny of painting, it has performed a valuable service. This style is more representative than imitative, is symbolical in its motive, and symmetrical in its outward



development or external form. It appears to owe its peculiar development partly to the notion that to attain to the excellence of the great *cinquecento* masters at the commencement of the sixteenth century a restoration of the *quattrocento* style is necessary (though with Overbeck the style is doubtless final), inferring that, as the *quattrocento* immediately preceded the *cinquecento*, and in so far led to it, it is the only road to that high development of art; such a fallacy requires no refutation. Some theorists maintain the *quattrocento* to be a higher development: it is nothing more than an incipient state of art, which requires a certain amount of knowledge; and when the barrier which lies between it and the more complete development is once surmounted, its use is accomplished. If a higher degree of knowledge is once attained, a perseverance in the restoration of such a form of art is to retrograde. This position has been practically illustrated by some of the most ardent advocates of this sentimental revival; the case of Erwin Speckter is sufficient. This painter, originally a devoted admirer of Overbeck, and indeed wholly absorbed by his style while living in his native district in the north of Germany, and during the whole period of his career, previous to his residence at Rome, experienced, upon his intimate acquaintance with that capital of the arts, a perfect revolution in taste, and wholly changed not only his style, but his very subject, so great was the reaction in his mind from

the artificial thralldom in which it had been enveloped. The essential attraction of art, as an embodiment of nature, gradually drew him from the abstract conventional system that he had identified himself with, in which art was only secondary to a peculiar sentiment independent of it, to the art itself and for its own sake. And Speckter's transition from convention to nature is far from being singular in the history of modern German art. Overbeck's style however is but one form of the great present development of painting in Germany, though it more or less characterises the style of many of her greatest artists ; but the purely historic art has likewise its votaries : as a school that of Düsseldorf is the most *sentimental*. To this school belong Bendemann, Lessing, Stilke, Sohn, and many other eminent masters in various departments of art, as Hübner and others, among whom the landscape painters are very conspicuous. Cornelius, Schnorr, Hess, and Kaulbach, all painters who owe much to the patronage of the truly royal munificence of Ludwig I. of Bavaria, are each in themselves a host, and sufficient to confer dignity in their respective walks on any school whatever. May the recent movement of the British Government in the cause of art prove the harbinger of a great future for this country !

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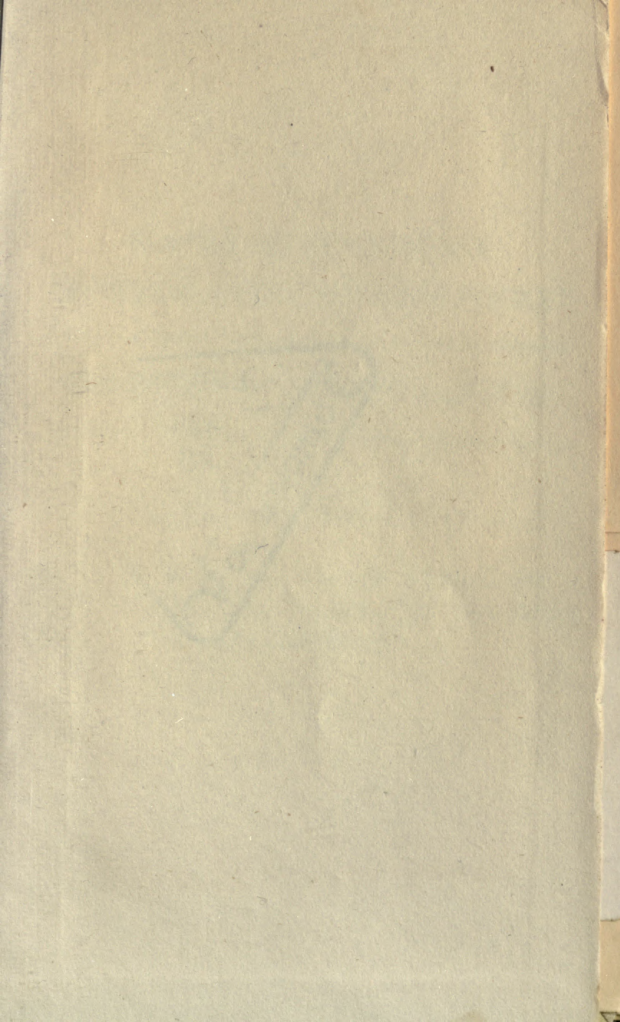
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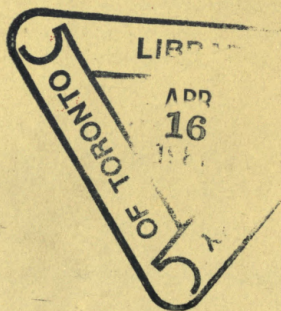
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